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ABSTRACT

This study empirically tests the extent to which four experimental units in government influence the acquisition of political knowledge and the development of feelings of political efficacy and cynicism among Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American twelfth graders. Two classes regularly taught at two high schools were compared with two experimental units, emphasizing: 1) each student's introspective analysis of his own political socialization; 2) an exploration of elitism, political linkage, and institutional racism; 3) an examination of case studies of political change; and, 4) individual student fieldwork (community involvement). Data was gathered from pre- and post-tests, indepth student interviews, and analysis of classroom interaction. The conclusions supported the hypothesis that schools can become a potent agent of political socialization among students. Those from the experimental classes revealed a higher incidence of understanding, involvement, and response ability. Future research includes a survey of student activity prior to the November 1972 election. Implications for social studies teachers' influence on student attitudes (ethnocentricism, racial prejudice, tolerance for dissent, and attitudes about social change) are apparent. (JMB)

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The Development of Experimental Curriculum to Effect the Political Socialization of Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American Adolescents

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Final Report

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXPERIMENTAL CURRICULUM TO EFFECT THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ANGLO, BLACK, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

Christine Bennett Button

The University of Texas at Austin

Austin, Texas

May, 1972

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

National Center for Educational Research and Development

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXPERIMENTAL CURRICULUM TO EFFECT THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ANGLO, BLACK, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

by

Christine Bennett Button, M.A.

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C.B.B.

May, 1972

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TO EFFECT THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION
OF ANGLO, BLACK, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN
ADOLESCENTS

Publication No. _____

Christine Bennett Button, Ph.D.
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Supervising Professor: O. L. Davis, Jr.

This study empirically tests the extent to which four experimental units in government influence the acquisition of political knowledge and the development of feelings of political efficacy and cynicism among Anglo, Black and Mexican-American twelfth-graders. The study population was comprised of 252 twelfth-graders from two high schools in Austin, Texas; the three ethnic groups were approximately equally represented in the experimental and contrast groups, although not in the individual classes. Four government classes and two teachers were selected at both target high schools by school district officials; two classes were designated as experimental and two as contrast. Students were assigned to classes according to the school district's regular computerized scheduling procedures; students were

not ability grouped. The experimental units developed for use in this study emphasize the following: 1) each student's introspective analysis of his own political socialization; 2) an exploration of elitism, political linkages and institutional racism; 3) an examination of past and present case studies of political change; and 4) individual student fieldwork designed to involve students in the political structure of their city.

A political attitude and political knowledge questionnaire was administered immediately prior to and following the four month long experimental treatment. Throughout most of this period student-initiated classroom interaction was coded during two complete class periods every week in each of the study's eight classrooms using the SICI, an interaction analysis schedule designed for this study. Sixty in-depth taped interviews were conducted with a random stratified sample of students, approximately two months after the experimental treatment had ended.

The experimental units appeared to be salient means of increasing feelings of political efficacy, political knowledge, and interest in politics among the study's Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American students. Some effects of the curriculum differed according to sex and ethnic group.

At one school increases in the amount of student-initiated classroom interaction during the experimental period was greater in the experimental group than in the

contrast group; the range of different students initiating also increased to a greater degree in the experimental group. Further, ethnic differences were significant in the experimental group, with Blacks initiating more frequently than Anglos.

Increases in mean frequences of student initiations did not differ significantly by treatment or ethnic group in the second school. However, increases in the range of different students initiating were greater in the experimental group.

At both schools, results from the student interviews amplified the statistical findings of the analyses of variance and covariance and supplied further evidence of the salience of the experimental curriculum on students' feelings of political efficacy, political interest and political behaviors. The interview technique, especially through the use of semi-projective items, appeared to have been a more valuable means of tapping various additional dimensions of political attitudes than the pencil-paper questionnaire.

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The social and political unrest connected with civil rights and the war in Vietnam during the past decade has imprinted much of America's youth with deep questions about the integrity and worth of the American political system (Greenberg, 1970). As part of this ferment, riots and protest prevalent during these years appear to have given birth to a deeper political consciousness among Black, Anglo and Chicano youth--an awareness vividly expressed in the Black Power, Brown Power, and various "student movements" (Sears and Tomlinson, 1970; Gutierrez, Hirsch, and Garza, 1971; Keniston, 1968). Political alienation, as defined below, is often a large portion of this consciousness (Billings, 1970; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967).

This new political awareness, with its questions probing into the core of the American political system itself (e.g., Greenberg, 1970), is not limited to college-aged youth. Evidence of this political sophistication has been exhibited among junior high schoolers and even among some sixth-graders (Fox, 1970; J. W. Button, 1971).

Recent research into the political socialization of American youth indicates that very young Black and Mexican-

American children are highly supportive of the American political system--sometimes more so than their Anglo middle-class counterparts (Sigel, 1965; Garcia, 1972; Greenberg, 1969). Yet by the time they reach adolescence, many Black and Mexican-American youths have developed much more negative and nonconsensual political orientations than have Anglo[1] youths.

In his study of Philadelphia youth, in grades three through nine, Greenberg (1969) reported the development of progressively greater feelings of political cynicism and inefficacy among Black students. These conclusions are supported by data from studies of Black and Anglo adolescents in New York City (Kenyon, 1969) and in Toledo (Lyons, 1970), where being Black was found to be a much stronger predictor of a low sense of political efficacy and feelings of political cynicism than was milieu. Other research indicates that similar orientations have developed among Chicano youth (Cornbleth, 1971; Gutierrez and others, 1971; Gutierrez and Hirsch, 1972; Hirsch and Gutierrez, 1972). Lower-class Anglo students also form one of the most politically alienated groups in this society (Hirsch, 1971).

In response to the growing evidence of increasing alienation among American youth, political education in American high schools has become the target of vigorous

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[1]In this study the term Anglo is used in the context of Southwestern U.S. culture. It refers to people who are "whites" and not of Mexican-American heritage.

criticism. Most criticism has focused upon the unrealistic, ethnocentric and stagnant interpretations of government which prevail in social studies curriculum (PS, 1971; Hess and Newman, 1968). The attack concentrates on the prevalent emphasis upon government structure and institutions, while political behavior, processes, and conflict largely are ignored (e.g., PS, 1971; Davis, 1972). Langton and Jennings' research (1967) is often cited as evidence of the lack of impact political education has on secondary school students. The alternative curricula which are prescribed depend upon the individual critic's primary goals, but the suggested alternatives tend to cluster around teaching "reality," "involvement," and conflict as an acceptable means of change within a democratic system (e.g., Kirst, 1971; Hess and Newman, 1968).

Recent research has indicated that the secondary school does have impact as an agent of political socialization. Yet, the dimensions and extent of its influence are not clear. Using a national survey sample of 1,669 high school seniors, Langton and Jennings (1967), for example, compared students who had taken courses in civics and government with those students who had not taken such courses. These researchers found no significant difference between the two groups of students in terms of a sense of political efficacy, political interest, or desire to participate in politics. They did discover, however, that the civics

curriculum had a significant effect on the political orientations of Black students in the sample and suggested as a possible explanation that the civics curriculum was less redundant for Blacks. Studies by Fisher (1968) and Seasholes (1965) further indicate the saliency of the school among Black youth. Ehman's analysis (1970) of the political socialization of high school students suggests that increased treatment of controversial issues in social studies classes is related to increased cynicism among Black students, decreased cynicism among Anglo students, and to increased feelings of efficacy among both groups. Litt (1963) concluded from his study that " . . . students in the civics education classes were more likely to endorse aspects of the democratic creed and less likely to hold chauvinistic political sentiments than students not exposed to the program." But he also found no changes in predispositions toward political participation, and noted that " . . . attitudes toward political activity are so strongly channeled through other agencies in each community that the civics education program's efforts have little independent effect" (p. 73)

Few curriculum programs emphasizing political socialization, political conflict, and the strategies behind effecting political change have been subjected to intensive research. The comprehensive Indiana Curriculum Project in Government represents an outstanding effort in this regard. Drawing upon current emphasis in political science and on

political socialization research and offering a "realistic" view of the American political scene, the program was found to be successful in enhancing high school students' knowledge of selected concepts and in promoting students' inquiry skills. Yet, the program did not appear to have had an effect on the political attitudes of interest to the researchers (Patrick, 1971). Other, more narrowly focused research suggests that "teaching a more sophisticated view of conflict can produce both more accepting attitudes toward conflict and greater tolerance for civil liberties" (Zellman and Sears, 1971), and that "participation-oriented" government courses might enhance students' actual participation in political affairs (Somit and others, 1970). Obviously, with so few intervention studies having been completed, additional research is seen as a compelling need.

Political Alienation Defined

Taking the social-psychological point of view, Seeman (1959) identifies five alternative meanings of the general concept alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. The first, powerlessness, refers to the "expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks" (p. 784). Second, an individual may be alienated in the

sense of experiencing meaninglessness, when he no longer can make sense of life's events and is unclear as to what he ought to believe. Third, alienation in the form of normlessness implies a condition of "anomie," or the "situation in which the social norms regulating individual conduct have broken down or are no longer effective as rules for behavior" (p. 787). According to Merton (1949), the anomic situation develops when an individual accepts the success goal emphasized in American culture, but perceives himself to be cut off from the socially accepted means of achieving these goals and must therefore resort to unapproved behaviors in striving toward them. In the fourth type of alienation, isolation, the individual feels apart from his society. He is isolated in the sense that his most highly valued goals or beliefs differ from those valued in the given society (Seeman, 1959). "Isolation" is also a type of adaptation to the anomie which results from a mismatch of an individual's goals and means, one by which the individual rejects society's major goals and rebells, often seeking to change the very social structure itself (Merton, 1949). The final variant of alienation, self-estrangement, is described as "the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards . . . rewards that lie outside the activity itself . . . . (It) refers essentially to the inability of the individual to find self-rewarding . . . activities that engage him" (Seeman, p. 790).

Political alienation readily fits into Seeman's more general conception of alienation, when it is defined according to Lane's syndrome of three attitudes (1962, p. 162):

1. I am the object, not the subject of political life--I have no influence and do not participate. Politically, I speak in the passive voice.

2. The government is not run in my interest; they do not care about me; in this sense it is not my government.

3. I do not approve the way decisions are made; the rules of the game are unfair, loaded, illegitimate; the Constitution is, in some sense, fraudulent.

Political cynicism and feelings of political efficacy are orientations central to this more general definition of political alienation. Political efficacy may be interpreted as a conviction that the polity is democratic and government officials are responsive to the people (Lane, 1959); political trust is the feeling that leaders are honest and competent, and involves a belief that they will usually act in the interests of the people (Abramson, 1971). Thus defined, feelings of political efficacy and political trust (in this case feelings of low efficacy and political cynicism, the reverse of political trust) are clearly part of Seeman's conceptualization of alienation in general. A low sense of efficacy is closely linked with feelings of "powerlessness," while political cynicism seems to be part of "isolation," as Seeman defines it. Furthermore, both orientations eventually may lead to conditions of personal anomie as well as the adaptations to it, as described by Merton. For

example, an individual (or group of individuals) may accept the democratic notion that all citizens have the right peacefully to participate in their government and that government must be responsive to these citizens. In reality, however, he perceives himself to be cut off from the channels of government participation and the government to be unresponsive to his needs (low sense of political efficacy). He may "adapt" to this situation by detaching or isolating himself from the values of peaceful participation and responsive government by becoming apathetic or by becoming rebellious, and attempt to change the political structure itself. Both reactions reflect high feelings of political cynicism, but represent two different manifestations of it.

It should be clear from this example that increased feelings of political efficacy are not necessarily correlated with decreased political cynicism. As Hirsch (1971) ably demonstrates in his study of Appalachian youth, one could be highly cynical and still be highly efficacious. While research into the political attitudes of Anglo middle-class children and youth describes them as feeling both efficacious and trusting (Easton and Dennis, 1967), political cynicism tends to increase during adolescence without an accompanying decrease in sense of efficacy (Dennis, 1969). Finding this pattern to be even more pronounced among Blacks in his sample, Dennis writes, "that the greater cynicism but higher political efficacy of Blacks might suggest an

orientation toward reforming the system." The same pattern of high levels of political cynicism combined with high levels of efficacy appears to be true among Chicano youth, at least in Crystal City, Texas (Gutierrez and Hirsch, 1972).

Already established is that youth among this society's oppressed minorities are often more politically alienated than are their Anglo middle-class counterparts. Additionally, research suggests that the secondary school social studies does at times have impact as an agent of political socialization--and that it is especially salient among non-Anglos. Therefore, social studies courses might possibly mediate the development of alienation more than is presently manifest. Frequently, educators dismiss the possibilities of their own intervention, believing that there is nothing they can do to modify society's patterns of oppression and institutional racism. Others fear that as this reality becomes clearer to the student he will become even more alienated. The following comments by Abramson are useful in this context.

> If our goal is to teach blacks to be more effective political actors we must increase their feelings of political effectiveness and political trust. No program of indoctrinating blacks to feel efficacious and trustful is likely to succeed. Feelings of political competence and trust among blacks must be based on an understanding of the strategies through which blacks are likely to maximize their political resources. (p. 44)

While Abramson's focus is upon Blacks, his philosophy seems applicable to American youth as a whole. But, this position

assumes that the school can be an effective agent of political attitudes, an assumption yet to be substantiated. A basic assumption found in traditional political socialization literature is that political orientations learned early in childhood have the strongest impact on adult attitudes. The frequent implication is that political education in high schools can have little, if any, significant impact on the political orientations of adolescents (Hess and Torney, 1967). Since the present study focuses on government curriculum in grade twelve, the task of modifying political orientations is formidable.

Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior

According to Milton Rokeach (1969),

> There is as yet little consensus about what we mean when we speak of a belief, an attitude, a value, a value system--and exactly what the differences are among these concepts . . . . We have few conceptual guidelines for assessing the extent to which a given belief or attitude is important or unimportant. We are still a long way from understanding the theoretical relationship between attitudes and behavior, between attitude change and behavior change, and we have not yet learned how to predict accurately one from the other. (p. x)

Given this confusion surrounding the nature of attitudes, values and behavior, and the non-existence of a widely accepted theory of political socialization (Hirsch, 1971), to articulate an adequate conceptual framework in the area of political learning is impossible. Nevertheless, several definitions and assumptions must be spelled out, and the

attempt here is to move toward such a framework.

An attitude is here defined as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" (Rokeach, 1969, p. 109). In contrast, a value is defined as "a disposition of a person just like an attitude, but more basic than an attitude, often underlying it" (Rokeach, 1969, p. 132). The "organization of beliefs" which constitute a certain attitude may be based upon basic immutable "zero-order," or "primitive," beliefs or upon "higher-order" beliefs. The latter are relatively more changeable but are internally consistent with the person's "primitive beliefs" (Bem, 1970). The present study focuses upon political orientations of alienation, political cynicism and feelings of political inefficacy which are considered to be "higher-order" political attitudes or orientations because they are learned after the individual has developed his most basic, and usually positive, orientations toward his nation's government.

If political socialization is "the process by which the person learns the political attitudes and behaviors of his culture," then it is a learning process which operates in much the same way as does socialization in general. Political attitudes may therefore be viewed as "response patterns" acquired by key agents of political socialization (i.e., family, school, church, peers, social class,

ethnicity, geographic region, and mass media) (Hirsch, 1971).

By the time the person reaches adolescense, his primary, or "zero-order," political orientations are well formulated (Bem, 1970). But higher order orientations, such as political cynicism and feelings of political efficacy, may still be modifiable. However, if such modifications are to be "positive" (i.e., enhanced feelings of political efficacy), the "zero-order," or most basic, political orientations must themselves be positive.

The nature of these most basic political orientations among Black and Chicano youth is unknown, though there exist provocative indications that at the very least shades of difference do exist between these groups and their Anglo counterparts. This is not to suggest that a "positive-negative" dicotomy exists between Anglo youth on the one hand and Black and Chicano youth on the other. Rather, Blacks and Chicanos seem more likely to accept the idea of a "guided democracy" and are less likely to value individual participation than are their Anglo counterparts (Garcia, 1972; Langton and Jennings, 1967; Greenberg, 1969; Kenyon, 1969). Such orientations may make it much more difficult to promote feelings of enhanced political efficacy among these groups than among Anglos, even though their most basic orientations toward the American political system may be positive.

Given that secondary or higher order orientations are the target of this research study, the Social Learning Approach (Zimbardo, 1970) comes closest to describing the principles upon which the experimental curriculum was based. However, it is impossible to identify the underlying theory of attitude development. Indeed, to do so would smack of indoctrination. The intent of the experimental curriculum was not to change political attitudes in one direction or another. While the investigator obviously hoped that the experimental curriculum would work to enhance student feelings of political efficacy, it was not known in advance what curricular ingredients might accomplish this. Hence, this research effort was exploratory--following the arguments of those critics of the "traditional" approach to political education who have advocated emphasis upon political behavior, processes and conflict, rather than the usual emphasis upon government structure and institutions.

Furthermore, since the study took place in the classroom rather than in the laboratory, it was impossible to isolate those stimuli which may have produced dissonance and impossible to measure these effects. One must note, however, that Bem's (1970) ideas on attitude change pervaded the development of the experimental curriculum. Bem has effectively illustrated that changing behavior is an important, and perhaps necessary, means of changing attitudes. Considerable research indicates that attitudes alone

seem to have only a small affect upon behavior; however, the reverse relationship reveals a higher correlation--that is, that behavior influences attitudes. Hence, as is described below, a strong attempt was made in the experimental curriculum to affect student behaviors.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES

Research Population

The study population originally consisted of 252 Anglo, Black and Mexican-American twelfth-graders in two high schools located in a major central Texas city. Attrition due to student transfers, dropping out of school, and early graduation reduced the final study size to 235 (141 at School A and 121 at School B). With the advice and decision of school district administration and the consent of teachers, four twelfth-grade government classes were selected at each school; two were designated experimental and two as contrast groups. Classes were selected by school district officials in order that the desired tri-ethnic sample (1/3 Anglo, 1/3 Black, and 1/3 Mexican-American) could be obtained. The purpose behind obtaining a tri-ethnic population was to compare the effects of the experimental curriculum on each of the ethnic groups predominant in the school district. Since the ethnic composition of individual classes did not approach the desired ratio, an ethnic balance was achieved by choosing four classes from School A where Anglos and Blacks predominated, and four

classes from School B where Blacks and Mexican-Americans predominated. Table 1 displays the study population according to the components of treatment and ethnicity.

Table 1

Number of Study Subjects in Each School by Ethnic and Treatment Groups

		Experimental Group	Contrast Group
School A:			
	Blacks	10	8
	Anglos	46	57
School B:			
	Blacks	29	21
	Mexican-Americans	42	39

In both schools, students were assigned to their government classes according to the computerized scheduling procedures regularly used by the school district. Students were not ability grouped. These procedures did not yield truly random groups. Yet, students enrolled in the selected classes may be assumed to be representative of twelfth-graders as a whole in their respective schools.

Experimental Treatment

Four experimental curriculum units in government were developed for use in this study. The units drew upon current research in political socialization and political science, emphasizing the following: 1) each student's introspective analysis of his own political socialization; 2) an exploration of elitism, political linkages between rulers and ruled, and institutional racism in the American political system; 3) analysis of historical and current case studies of political influence and change--focusing largely on how racial and political minorities have worked to promote their goals; and 4) individual fieldwork designed to involve students in the political structure of their city (C. Button, 1971). Students in the contrast group were taught according to the school district's government curriculum guide (A.I.S.D., 1966). The experimental period lasted four months during the Fall semester, 1971.

Four teachers were involved in the study. Teacher 1, the principal investigator, and a female, taught both experimental classes at School A and Teacher 2, a male, taught both contrast classes at School A; at School B, Teacher 3, a male, taught both experimental classes and Teacher 4, a female, taught both contrast classes. All teachers had a minimum of four years of experience in teaching high school social studies.

Hypotheses

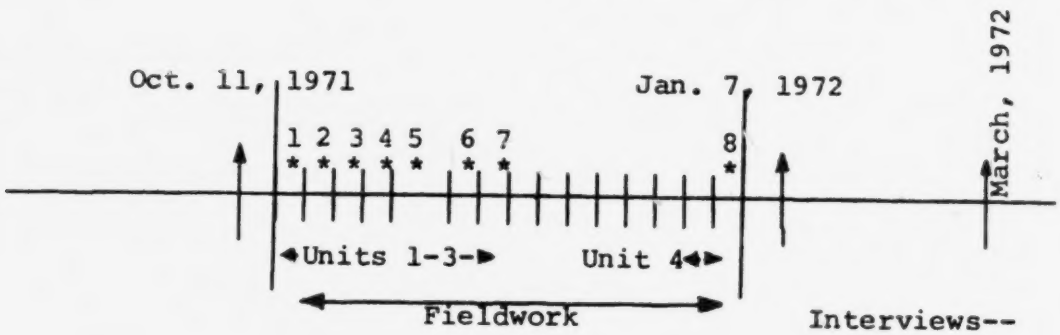
The purpose of the present study was to determine the extent to which selected experimental curriculum units emphasizing avenues of political involvement, creative conflict, and change might influence the acquisition of political knowledge and development of feelings of political efficacy and cynicism among the Anglo, Black and Mexican-American twelfth-graders. Principal hypotheses tested in the study are the following (stated in the null form):

1. There is no significant difference between the adjusted means of the experimental and contrast groups on the political efficacy tests.
2. There is no significant difference between the adjusted means of the experimental and contrast groups on the political cynicism tests.
3. There is no significant difference between the adjusted means of the experimental and contrast groups on the political knowledge tests.
4. There is no significant difference between the adjusted means of the ethnic groups on the political efficacy tests.
5. There is no significant difference between the adjusted means of the ethnic groups on the political cynicism tests.
6. There is no significant difference between the

adjusted means of the ethnic groups on the political knowledge tests.

7. There is no significant treatment x ethnicity interaction on the political efficacy tests when posttest scores are adjusted for pretest scores.
8. There is no significant difference between the experimental and contrast groups in terms of increased student-initiated classroom interaction.
9. There is no significant difference between the ethnic groups in terms of increased student-initiated classroom interaction.

A multiple indicators approach was used to test the hypotheses in this study. Data were gathered through the use of pencil-paper questionnaires, coding of student initiated classroom interaction, and taped in-depth student interviews. Each technique has its own strengths and draw backs, but the use of all three protects against using one or two which have similar weaknesses. The process of data collection may be visualized in the following diagram.



Pretest (Political Attitude & Political Knowledge Questionnaire)

Posttest (Political Attitude & Political Knowledge Questionnaire)

Interaction Analysis

(Asterisks indicate the 7 trials, or 2 class periods each week during which interaction was coded. Trial 8 was not included in this study because data were not gathered in the contrast group at School B.)

Criterion Measures

A political attitude and political knowledge questionnaire was administered to all Ss immediately prior to and following the experimental treatment. Imbedded in the questionnaire were items constituting the criterion measures of political cynicism, political efficacy, and political knowledge.

Political cynicism has been defined as distrust relating to a basic and general evaluative posture towards government. It is roughly the converse of political trust, or the belief that government leaders will usually be honest, competent, and will usually act in the interest of the people (e.g., Jaros and Hirsch, 1967; Lyons, 1970). The

concept has been operationalized by employing the following five items, identical with minor modifications to scales used in research by Jennings and Niemi (1968) and Agger and others (1961). These items constituted the criterion measure of political cynicism (CYN).

> Do you think that most of the people running the government are honest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are?
>
> Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money paid in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?
>
> How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?
>
> Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?
>
> Would you say that the government is run for the benefit of all the people or that it is usually run by a few big officials looking out for themselves?

CYN scores could range from 5-15. Test-retest reliability of this scale was computed to be r = .522.[2]

A sense of political efficacy has been defined as

> . . . a sense of the direct political potency of the individual; a belief in the responsiveness of the government to the desires of the individuals; the idea of the comprehensibility of government; the availability of adequate means of influence; and a general resistance to fatalism about the tractability of government to anyone, ruler or ruled. (Easton and Dennis, 1967)

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[2]A Pearson's test-retest reliability was computed on each attitudinal scale. One additional government class in each of the target high schools was selected for testing; identical forms of the questionnaire were administered twice in each class. The tests were administered two weeks apart.

The concept has been operationalized by using both an eight-item scale (EFF8) and a five-item scale (EFF5), of which the latter is a portion of the former (Easton and Dennis, 1967). Asteriks indicate those items comprising the five item scale; all eight items are listed below. Responses to each item were in the form of selection of one out of five choices on a Likert scale--strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, and don't know or no opinion.

Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can help run things.

Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in government.

*What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.

*There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.

*My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

*I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.

*Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

How much does the <u>average person</u> help decide which laws are made for our country?

Scores on EFF8 ranged from 8-32 and on EFF5 from 5-20.

Student scores on the CYN and EFF were calculated as follows. For the subjects who answered "Don't know" or did not answer questions in a scale, the mean of those questions he did answer in the scale was assigned to the

questions he did not answer or answered "Don't know."[3] If the student answered "Don't know" and/or did not answer the question on all items of one or both scales he was dropped from the study (N = 1).

The highest possible score on CYN was 15, with each of the five items contributing a maximum of 3 points each. In CYN, the two-answer questions were assigned 1 for low cynicism and 3 for high cynicism to indicate the extreme positions and to make those questions compatible with the items containing three-answer responses. Thirty-two was the highest possible score on EFF8 with each of the eight individual items contributing a maximum of four points to that score.

A third scale to assess a sense of political efficacy (EFF2) was developed by the investigator. Responses to the two item clusters revealed Ss' perceptions of their

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[3]The decision to score blanks and "Don't know's" by inserting the student's mean score for that scale was based on the fact that a score of 3 points (if this were done the range of points would be 1-5 on each efficacy item) would artificially inflate the total scale score of students low in sense of efficacy on the items answered; in like manner, the total score of students scoring high on most items would be deflated. In addition, it is argued that a blank or "Don't know" indicates feelings of lower efficacy than does a response scored 3 or 4, but higher efficacy than those scored a 2 or 1. Hence a score of zero would be inappropriate since it would be "lower" than scores of responses indicative of the lowest feelings of efficacy.

The decision was made to keep students who did not answer or checked "Don't know" on the majority of items on one of the scales (N = 3) because this was an intervention study, and changes in the number of blanks and/or "Don't know's" was valuable information.

abilities to deal with local and national problems they considered most pressing. The EFF2 scale was comprised of:

(What do you think are _____'s two biggest problems?)

Do you feel that you personally can do anything to help solve these problems?
_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know
If so, what? _____
If no, why? _____

(What do you think are America's two biggest problems?)

Do you feel that you personally can do anything to help solve these problems?
_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know
If so, what? _____
If no, why? _____

Scoring of the EFF2 scale was as follows: four points were awarded if an S checked "yes" and gave an example of action he could take; 3 points if he checked "yes" only; 2 points if he checked "no" only; and 1 point if he checked "no" and gave an example. The highest possible score on the scale of EFF2 was 8, with each of the item clusters contributing a maximum of 4 points each.

Test-retest reliabilities for the three measures of political efficacy were computed. Obtained coefficients were as follows: EFF8, $r = .845$; EFF5, $r = .779$; and EFF2, $r = .640$.

Political knowledge (KNOW) was measured by a 28-item objective test. Items related to objectives of the experimental units and general civic knowledge. The total number of correctly answered questions was used as the Ss score for KNOW.

Administration of Instruments

The same personnel and procedures were used during both data collection sessions. Questionnaires were administered in the intact government classes by one of three graduate students from the University of Texas. Identical introductions were given, except that the phrase "questionnaire similar to the one you took before" was added to the introduction of the post-test. (See Appendix A for text of introduction and questionnaire.) The purpose of the questionnaire was explained as an effort by a group of educators to find out what high school students think about our government; the group, of which the test administrator was a member, was described as being interested in improving high school government courses. Students were invited to "help" by giving their frank opinions. Only one student declined. Students were assured of the confidential nature of the questionnaire, and identification numbers rather than names were used. Instructions were read by one of the three test conductors; the students then filled out the questionnaire. The approximate time for completion was 35 minutes.

No serious problems developed during these periods of data collection, though it should be noted that students absent on the testing date were given the questionnaire by one of the three test conductors in private several days later. The average number of students absent on the test date was two per class.

Classroom Interaction Analysis

Student-initiated interaction is defined as a question initiated by the student and directed at the teacher or another student, or as an unelicited statement made by the student. Classroom interaction was coded according to the Student-Initiated Interaction schedule developed for this investigation (see Appendix B).

The Student-Initiated Interaction Schedule (SICI) was designed by the principal investigator to code discussion in secondary level social studies classes. It represents a greatly modified version of Brophy and Good's Teacher-Child Dyandic Interaction Schedule (1969). Most recent studies of classroom interaction have been directed at understanding teacher initiated and dominated discourse (Amidon and Hough, 1967). Only recently have inquiries begun to examine in detail dimensions and settings in which student initiated verbal interactions (e.g., comments, questions, statements) have been studied. The work of Brophy and Good, the model used here, is pioneering in this field.

The Student-Initiated Interaction Schedule highlights the following dimensions of classroom interaction:

a. Amount of student-initiated interaction
b. Amount of teacher-initiated interaction
c. The verbal nature of the interaction--within selected categories
d. The non-verbal nature of the interaction--within selected categories
e. Proportion of open versus private student-initiated talk

Only the first dimension was used to test the study's two hypotheses on student-initiated interaction.

These data were believed to be important in studying the impact of the experimental curriculum, because it measured student behavior change (in the form of initiated verbal interaction) and allowed comparison of student behavior in the experimental and contrast classrooms. Using the participation theory of learning (Jaros and Canon, 1969), the assumption here was that when students are encouraged to initiate statements and questions, and if they do in fact do so, then their sense of personal efficacy will rise. Since participation focused on politically relevant content, this increase in personal efficacy is believed to enhance the individual's specific feelings of efficacy vis à vis the political sphere beyond himself. The SICI schedule

was used, then, to measure increases and/or decreases in student initiations, in both the contrast and experimental groups, throughout the experimental period.

Three graduate students from the University of Texas were trained to observe and code classroom interaction using the SICI. Each of the eight classes involved in the study was coded for two full class periods every week during eight weeks of the experimental period, for a total of sixteen class periods in each of the eight classrooms. Days of observation were chosen at random, with the exception that if films or tests were scheduled on that date the next available date was selected for coding.

Each observer coded in the same two classrooms for all thirty-two observations (one observer coded in four classrooms for a total of sixty-four observations). In using the system each observer was aided by a seating chart and placed himself so that all students could be observed. A randomly chosen half of the coded sessions were audio-tape recorded.

Practice sessions using videotaped lessons were used to train observers to use the system. Inter-coder reliability was determined by computing the percentage of agreement among the three observers while coding two different thirty minute videotaped social studies lessons. The reliability coefficient was assessed at .75.

In-Depth Interviews

Sixty students were selected at random from the study population stratified according to treatment, sex, and ethnicity, to be interviewed in private approximately two months after administration of the posttests. Using a table of random numbers, student identification numbers were selected so that students from the different groups, treatments, and sexes were approximately equally represented. The purpose of the interview was to probe in depth the student's sense of political efficacy and political cynicism, and any effect his government course may have had on these orientations. Beyond this the student's perceptions of his government teacher's interest, enthusiasm, knowledge and preparation in the subject matter were probed, as well as the extent to which students felt free to express their opinions and did in fact participate. Uniform questions were asked each interviewee according to the schedule developed by the principal investigator (see Appendix C), but probing was at times necessarily individualized.

Two graduate students from the University of Texas were hired to assist the principal investigator in conducting the student interviews (one of these graduate students also coded interaction in the experimental classes at School B). (The principal investigator conducted all interviews from the contrast group in School A and ten of the

twenty interviews from the experimental group at School B.) Interviews were conducted in an empty classroom at School A and in a small private office at School B. During the introduction of the interview, the student was offered a coke. The purpose of the interview was described as follows:

> "I'm working with a group of high school government teachers at UT on a project which we hope will make high school government classes more meaningful and interesting to students. We feel that the best way to do this is to talk with the students themselves--especially those who have just finished taking government. And so, we hope you will agree to help us by answering some of our questions, and also by asking me any you might have."

The student was advised that he had been selected according to random procedures and that the interview was confidential. He was then invited to "help out." None of the students selected declined tc be interviewed.

Results of the student interviews were quantified by categorizing student responses on each item, and tabulating the response frequencies. Details of the categories and coding process are described in Chapter III.

Development of the Experimental Units

Procedures

Lessons and materials comprising the four experimental units were developed by the principal investigator during the six months preceding the experimental period.

The units were reviewed and critiqued by the School District's secondary level Social Studies Supervisor and by a Professor of Government at the University of Texas.[4] The units were then revised by the principal investigator.

Introduction of the experimental units coincided with the beginning of the School District's second six week period so that changes in class enrollment after the experimental period had begun would be minimized. Since large scale busing of Black students began at the beginning of the school year the scheduling of students' classes was more difficult than usual.

During the month prior to implementation of the experimental units, Teacher 3 (teacher of the experimental group at School B) studied the experimental curriculum and discussed the units in depth with the principal investigator (teacher of the experimental group at School A). These two teachers met weekly throughout the experimental period to coordinate their teaching and insure that the experimental treatment would be the same in both schools. However, some of the materials in the experimental units were unfamiliar to Teacher 3, and he did not have the time to become fully acquainted with these units prior to teaching them. Any deviations were noted in the teacher logs.

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[4]The reviewers were Herbert Hirsch, Associate Professor of Government, The University of Texas at Austin, and Dr. Frances Nesmith, Supervisor of Social Studies in the Austin Independent School District.

At School B, Teacher 3 simply began teaching the experimental curriculum in his own two government classes at the beginning of the Fall semester's second six weeks period. Hence, students were generally unaware of the nature of the experiment. At School A, Teacher 1 was introduced by the regular government teacher as a "team teacher" and observed the two experimental classes daily for three weeks prior to taking over. During this time Teacher 1 learned the students' names, worked with students in small groups, and generally assisted the regular government teacher; hence the transition of teachers was smooth and the nature of the experiment was not evident to the students.

Possibly, at least some of the students felt they were receiving special treatment. When the new curriculum was introduced, students received spiral notebooks to use as journals, the government text was replaced by a booklet of "selected readings," a paperback library was established in the room, and it was obvious that the topics were different from those discussed in other government classes in the school. However, at School A the changes seemed to be viewed by the students as a "change in the way the teachers believed in teaching," and at School B by the fact that "our teacher could see we were bored with the text and answering the questions, so he decided to try something better." (These are representative quotations selected from student interviews.)

While the existence of a Hawthorne Effect cannot be dismissed, especially in view of the results obtained, the initial shock of the change in curriculum apparently soon wore off and students became accustomed to the new approach.

Content and Rationale

The overall emphasis of the curriculum was to "teach for political efficacy" (C. Button, 1971). No conscious effort was made to encourage students to become more or less cynical about politics and government. Rather, the attempt was to introduce students to the "true nature" of the American political system on the assumption that individuals can be effective in this system only if they understand the realities of it. (Appendix D contains unit outlines.)

The first unit emphasized the student's introspective analysis of his own political socialization--particularly the key agents which have shaped his present political attitudes. Since political attitudes and behaviors are so strongly interdependent, the individual must understand how the formation processes operate within himself if he is to understand himself politically. Such self-knowledge is assumed to be basic to conscious behavioral or attitudinal changes in political efficacy, for greater self-awareness enhances self-control. For those who are apathetic, politically angry, or racist, the discovery of how these

orientations develop and change, how they influence and are influenced by behavior and experience, can be liberating. But perhaps the best justification of this introduction is the belief that the most meaningful place for the student to begin such an exploration of the political system is within himself.

Students inductively arrived at a definition of political socialization by observing the process among small children, Appalachian Americans, and non-Anglo minorities. They analyzed the "vicious cycle of political alienation" and how it might be broken. The unit culminated in each student's self-analysis of his political socialization.

The second unit introduced students to elitist theories of the American political system. While the idea of competing elites was central to this, the strictly pluralist interpretation was de-emphasized since students already had a thorough grounding in this.

There are, of course, no agreed-upon definitions of the nature of the American political system, but before an individual can actively participate in the political system, seemingly he must begin to understand the nature of this system. Key questions for the student to ask and explore included: How is political power used and distributed in the contemporary United States? What are the necessary conditions and usual processes for change in either the

distribution, nature or usage of that power? (Dye and Zeigler, 1970) Who rules? What political linkages exist between power-holders and the relatively powerless? How does institutional racism operate in the political sphere? (Dahl, 1967; Kolko, 1962; Domhoff, 1967; Dolbeare, 1969; Knowles and Prewitt, 1969)

Students worked in small groups to resolve realistic political problems, given the power structure of both a single ruling elite and competing plural elites. The assumption underlying this unit was related to participation theory (e.g., Bem, 1970). Working in groups of five or six, nearly all students became involved in attempting to solve hypothetical political problems. Assumed here was that students would pick up ideas for solving actual political or social problems confronting them outside the classroom, that the sense of efficacy gained in the classroom would spill over into the actual political sphere.

Unit III posed the question: "How have some dissatisfied groups attempted to change America?" Patterns of political influence and change were analyzed. The lessons in this unit sprung from the philosophy expressed by Seasholes (1966) writing about public schools and the political socialization of Blacks.

> . . . While there is much other than what happens to Negroes' in school that puts them at a political disadvantage, this fact should not deter us from trying to maximize the impact the school experience can

> have on their later political effectiveness. I have called Negro political immobility "bad strategy." Perhaps the greatest contribution we as educators could make to the schoolage Negroes who will be tomorrow's adult citizens is to re-orient their thinking about the development and use of political strategy. This means spelling out with approval the various techniques of bargaining, forced demands, concession, and occasional retreat that are used by politically successful subgroups in our society. (p. 67)

Though particularly applicable to non-Anglo students, Seasholes' ideas seem to apply to the teaching of all political minorities, meaning all students since each will at some time probably find himself in a political minority position.

Using historical examples and current case studies, students examined techniques which have been used continuously (i.e., parties, coalitions, elections, and interest groups), and techniques which have tended to play upon the emotions of the times (i.e., sit-ins, boycotts, freedom rides). To counterbalance two prevalent myths about American History, namely, that progress has been mainly peaceful, with little violent protest and that community violence is a phenomenon unique to Black Americans (Skolnick, 1969), "mainstream" protest and political violence throughout American history were surveyed using an evolution-to-revolution continuum. Patterns of political protest and influence employed by other ethnic groups were then examined in perspective.

Students were asked to explore the role of political violence in America, its goals and effectiveness. An

in-depth analysis of the Watts riot (Summer, 1965) was used to probe the extent to which the "riff-raff" theory of who riots is valid (Sears and Tomlinson, 1970) and as a spring board for examining the causes and meaning of riots in general. The goals, techniques and effectiveness of non-violent civil disobedience were also examined. Speeches and letters of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Cesar Chavez were used as expressions of the basic philosophy; examples such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the California grape-picker strikes were examined as instances of the philosophy in action. The historic development and current meanings of both the Brown Power and the Black Power movements were also analyzed.

Unit IV was in many ways the most difficult to implement. Early in the experimental period the student selected a community problem of interest to himself, and worked on it individually or in a small group over a 3-4 month period. By encouraging the student to identify an actual political, social or economic problem in his own community; by encouraging him to explore its causes, find out how it was being dealt with, and take concrete action on the problem himself, an attempt was made to get the student to apply the concepts and skills gained in the classroom by extending the learning environment into the political structure itself.

This approach was a direct outgrowth of the philosophy that changing behavior is often an effective and necessary means of changing attitudes (Bem, 1970). While problem solving and class discussion were emphasized in the classroom, the student fieldwork represented the most concerted effort at affecting student behavior in a politically salient setting--one which encouraged the student to exercise himself politically in a reality situation.

However important, the student fieldwork was difficult to carry out. The major difficulty was that at School B nearly every student had a job which began during or immediately after school, and at School A this was true of at least half of the students. Hence the extensive physical involvement hoped for was impossible for all students, though the majority (at least at School A) did become personally involved.

Treatment of Data

Criterion data were treated by analysis of variance and covariance procedures. These analyses were conducted using the computer program COVARY (Veldman, 1967) for the CDC 6600 computer, The University of Texas at Austin. Interview data were categorized and analyzed as described in Chapter III.

Since this study was exploratory, the probability levels of all obtained F-ratios are reported. For the purpose of rejecting null nypotheses, probabilities of .10 and below are accepted as significant.

Some Possible Limitations of the Study

Three limitations of this study are noted. They are 1) lack of power to generalize beyond the limits of the study population; 2) the possibility that teacher and treatment variables were confounded; and 3) the possible existence of a Hawthorne effect among students in the experimental groups.

Generalizations beyond the study population would be risky and must be limited to a hypothetical super-population whose characteristics are not significantly different from the sample used in this study. The experimental units must be tested in other settings before inferences can be made regarding their effectiveness among other groups of students.

That the principal investigator taught the experimental group at School A and the existence of a nested design are real limitations. Yet, to have prevented "contamination" from the experimental curriculum in the contrast groups by using only one teacher teaching a class in both experimental and contrast groups would have been impossible.

The alternative of employing large numbers of teachers for the experimental group on the one hand, and for the contrast group on the other, was beyond the resources of this investigation. An attempt was made in the taped student interviewed to inquire about the possible effects of this limitation; results of this inquiry are reported in Chapter III.

The possibility of a Hawthorne effect must be included in a discussion of the study's limitations. Students in the experimental group may have changed as a result of feeling they were receiving special treatment. Still, one would wonder why this change has not happened more frequently in other intervention studies attempting to promote attitude change on similar dependent variables.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This Chapter presents results from the three data collection processes used in the study: 1) pre- and post-testing of students on CYN, EFF8, EFF5, EFF2, and KNOW; 2) analysis of classroom interaction using the SICI schedule; and 3) taped student interviews.

Analysis of Students' Political Attitudes and Political Knowledge

Students' Political Attitudes Prior to Experimental Treatment

A political attitude and political knowledge questionnaire was administered to all Ss immediately prior to and following the experimental treatment. Imbedded in the questionnaire were items constituting the criterion measures of political cynicism, political efficacy, and political knowledge. Table 2 summarizes pretest criterion data.

Analyses of variance of the pretest scores revealed no significant differences on any of the criterion measures between the experimental classes at either school, and no significant differences on these measures between the

Table 2

Summary of Pretest Results by Scale and Group for Schools A and B

Scale/Group	Blacks			Anglos			Combined	
	N	$\bar{X}$	SD	N	$\bar{X}$	SD	N	$\bar{X}$
School A								
CYN								
Experimental	10	10.20	2.66	46	9.04	2.52	56	9.62
Contrast	8	12.00	1.85	57	10.57	2.17	65	11.29
Combined	18	11.10		103	9.81			
EFF8								
Experimental	10	20.10	2.51	46	20.65	3.10	56	20.38
Contrast	8	16.88	3.40	57	20.63	3.37	65	18.75
Combined	18	18.49		103	20.64			
EFF5								
Experimental	10	13.80	1.99	46	14.28	2.33	56	14.04
Contrast	8	10.63	3.96	57	13.74	2.89	65	12.18
Combined	18	12.21		103	14.00			
EFF2								
Experimental	10	4.90	1.91	46	5.36	1.87	56	5.08
Contrast	8	3.63	1.89	57	5.11	2.07	65	4.37
Combined	18	4.26		103	5.18			

TABLE 2 (continued)

Scale/Group	Blacks			Anglos			Combined	
	N	$\bar{X}$	SD	N	$\bar{X}$	SD	N	$\bar{X}$
School B								
CYN								
Experimental	29	9.86	2.56	42	9.81	2.21	71	9.84
Contrast	21	10.52	2.21	39	10.05	2.15	60	10.29
Combined	50	10.19		81	9.93			
EFF8								
Experimental	29	18.52	3.27	42	18.55	2.73	71	18.53
Contrast	21	19.05	2.71	39	18.36	3.38	60	18.70
Combined	50	18.78		81	18.45			
EFF5								
Experimental	29	12.45	2.56	42	12.33	2.43	71	12.39
Contrast	21	12.57	2.09	39	12.21	2.81	60	12.39
Combined	50	12.51		81	12.27			
EFF2								
Experimental	29	4.28	1.51	42	4.55	1.57	71	4.41
Contrast	21	4.76	1.73	39	4.26	1.82	60	4.51
Combined	50	4.52		81	4.40			

contrast classes at either school. Therefore, the classes were collapsed into a 2 x 2 analytic design (Treatment Group x Ethnic Group) with each school analyzed separately; these results are included in Tables 3 and 4.

At School A the results indicate that prior to the experimental treatment there was a significant difference between Anglos and Blacks in the study population on the measures of CYN, EFF8, and EFF2. Blacks appeared to feel more cynical and less efficacious than did their Anglo classmates. There was also a significant main effect for treatment on CYN and on EFF8. The pretest scores indicated that students in the contrast group scored higher on CYN and lower on EFF8 than did students in the experimental group. The difference between the treatment groups on EFF8 may be explained by the fact that Blacks in the contrast group scored significantly lower than Blacks in the experimental group; the mean score of Anglos in both treatment groups was approximately equal on EFF8. On the other hand, no significant main effects and interaction were observed in the analysis of School B pretest scores.

In view of these significant main effects for treatment and ethnicity at School A, analyses of covariance of pretest scores on posttest scores subsequently was utilized as the major statistical treatment of obtained data.

Table 3

Source of Variance of Pretest Scores at School A:
Summary Table

	MS	DF	F	p
CYN				
Ethnic Status	25.14	1	4.62	.032
Treatment Group	42.10	1	7.73	.006
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	.27	1	.05	.821
Within Group	5.45	117		
EFF8				
Ethnic Status	70.25	1	6.82	.009
Treatment Group	39.86	1	3.87	.049
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	38.85	1	3.77	.052
Within Group	10.30	117		
EFF5				
Ethnic Status	48.49	1	6.65	.010
Treatment Group	52.38	1	7.13	.008
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	26.16	1	3.56	.058
Within Group	7.35	117		
EFF2				
Ethnic Status	12.83	1	3.42	.064
Treatment Group	7.74	1	2.06	.150
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	4.74	1	1.26	.262
Within Group	3.75	117		

Table 4

Source of Variance of Pretest Scores at School B:
Summary Table

	MS	DF	F	p
CYN				
Ethnic Status	2.10	1	.41	.532
Treatment Group	6.21	1	1.20	.274
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	1.34	1	.26	.617
Within Group	5.16	127		
EFF8				
Ethnic Status	3.29	1	.35	.560
Treatment Group	.89	1	.09	.756
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	3.93	1	.42	.524
Within Group	9.32	127		
EFF5				
Ethnic Status	1.76	1	.28	.607
Treatment Group	.00	1	.00	.991
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	.48	1	.08	.781
Within Group	6.39	127		
EFF2				
Ethnic Status	.42	1	.15	.700
Treatment Group	.29	1	.10	.746
Ethnic Status x Treatment Group	4.59	1	1.66	.196
Within Group	2.75	127		

Students' Political Attitudes and Knowledge Following Experimental Treatment

Mean political cynicism, political efficacy, and political knowledge scores are summarized by treatment and ethnic group in Table 5 for School A and by treatment, sex, and ethnic group in Table 8 for School B. Analyses of the data are reported below.

Results of the Analyses of Covariance at School A (Anglos and Blacks)

These analyses (see Table 6) revealed a significant main effect for treatment at School A on three dependent variables: CYN, EFF8, and KNOW. Overall, CYN mean scores did increase in the contrast group, while mean scores on all three EFF measures in the experimental group increased, and mean scores of EFF8 and EFF5 decreased in the contrast group. The main effect for ethnicity was significant on EFF2 and on KNOW. No significant main effects for sex and no interactions were revealed by the analyses of dependent variables at School A.

In probing the nature of these data from the analyses of covariance, four planned comparisons were performed between the adjusted means of the four ethnicity/treatment groups (see Table 7).

Table 5

Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Adjusted Means of Criterion Scores of School A Subjects by Treatment and Ethnic Groups

Treatment/Scale	Ethnic Group: Blacks					Ethnic Group: Anglos				
	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Posttest $\bar{X}$	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Posttest $\bar{X}$
Experimental (Blacks, N = 10; Anglos, N = 43)										
CYN	10.20	2.25	10.40	2.01	9.87	8.84	2.38	8.63	2.47	8.75
EFF8	20.10	2.39	21.20	2.93	21.52	20.70	3.14	20.98	3.09	20.90
EFF5	13.80	1.89	15.00	2.41	15.31	14.28	2.37	14.16	2.40	14.09
EFF2	4.90	1.81	4.60	1.80	7.78	5.30	1.87	6.05	2.09	6.01
KNOW	14.80	5.93	16.70	5.97	16.08	13.37	4.96	19.70	3.76	19.84
Contrast (Blacks, N = 7; Anglos, N = 54)										
CYN	11.86	1.81	11.43	1.59	11.08	10.63	2.18	11.22	1.93	11.27
EFF8	16.14	2.70	17.14	4.82	19.98	20.65	3.14	20.07	3.34	19.71
EFF5	10.00	3.55	11.00	3.70	13.05	13.78	2.92	13.43	2.58	13.16
EFF2	3.57	1.18	4.14	1.12	4.95	5.11	2.04	5.31	2.04	5.21
KNOW	12.43	4.17	14.29	3.81	14.81	13.22	5.03	13.48	4.63	13.41

Table 6

Summary of Analyses of Covariance of School A Subjects' Pretest Scores for the Five Dependent Variables

Scale	Source	DF	Adjusted SS	Adjusted MS	F	p
CYN						
	Treatment	1	490.23	66.29	17.05	.000
	Ethnicity	1	429.05	5.11	1.31	.254
	Sex	1	434.24	10.31	2.65	.106
EFF8						
	Treatment	1	734.49	24.10	3.70	.057
	Ethnicity	1	713.30	2.91	.45	.510
	Sex	1	711.07	.68	.10	.750
EFF5						
	Treatment	1	401.67	7.94	2.20	.140
	Ethnicity	1	401.17	7.44	2.06	.150
	Sex	1	394.59	.86	.24	.630
EFF2						
	Treatment	1	325.49	6.68	2.29	.134
	Ethnicity	1	328.21	9.40	3.22	.076
	Sex	1	318.85	.05	.02	.902
KNOW						
	Treatment	1	1927.24	805.14	78.21	.000
	Ethnicity	1	1161.70	39.60	3.85	.052
	Sex	1	1125.49	3.39	.33	.567

N = 53 in Experimental Group
N = 61 in Contrast Group

Table 7

Summary of Means and ANCOVA results of Planned Comparisons of Four Ethnicity/Treatment Groups at School A

	Pretest				Posttest				Adjusted Means		F	p
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD				
	BE		WE		BE		WE		BE	WE		
CYN	10.20	2.52	8.84	2.38	10.40	2.01	8.63	2.47	9.87	8.75	2.09	.1512
EFF8	20.10	2.39	20.70	3.14	21.20	2.93	20.98	3.09	21.52	20.90	.54	.4732
EFF5	13.80	1.89	14.28	2.37	15.00	2.41	14.16	2.40	15.31	14.09	4.39	.0389
EFF2	4.90	1.81	5.30	1.87	4.60	1.80	6.05	2.09	4.78	6.01	3.66	.0584
KNOW	14.80	5.93	13.37	4.96	16.70	5.97	19.70	3.76	16.08	19.84	10.11	.0029
	BC		WC		BC		WC		BC	WC		
CYN	11.86	1.81	10.63	2.18	11.43	1.59	11.22	1.93	11.08	11.27	.06	.8000
EFF8	16.14	2.70	20.65	3.41	17.14	4.82	20.07	3.34	19.98	19.71	.06	.8102
EFF5	10.00	3.55	13.78	2.92	11.00	3.70	13.43	2.58	13.05	13.16	.20	.8960
EFF2	3.57	1.18	5.11	2.04	4.14	1.12	5.31	2.04	4.95	5.21	.15	.7015
KNOW	12.43	4.17	13.22	5.03	14.29	3.81	13.48	4.63	14.81	13.41	1.59	.2102
	BE		BC		BE		BC		BC	WC		
CYN	10.20	2.52	11.86	1.81	10.40	2.01	11.43	1.59	10.44	11.37	.75	.4058
EFF8	20.10	2.39	16.14	2.70	21.20	2.93	17.14	4.82	19.80	19.14	.09	.7636
EFF5	13.80	1.89	10.00	3.55	15.00	2.41	11.00	3.70	13.67	12.90	.36	.5653
EFF2	4.90	1.81	3.57	1.18	4.60	1.80	4.14	1.13	4.41	4.42	.00	.9864
KNOW	14.80	5.93	12.43	4.17	16.70	5.97	14.29	3.81	15.98	15.31	.12	.7302

TABLE 7 (continued)

	Pretest				Posttest				Adjusted Means		F	p
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD				
	WE		WC		WE		WC		WE	WC		
CYN	8.84	2.38	10.63	2.18	8.63	2.47	11.22	1.93	9.09	10.86	17.07	.0002
EFF8	20.70	3.14	20.65	3.41	20.98	3.10	20.07	3.34	20.96	20.09	3.16	.0751
EFF5	14.28	2.37	13.78	2.92	14.16	2.40	13.43	2.58	13.99	13.57	1.20	.2746
EFF2	5.30	1.87	5.11	2.04	6.05	2.09	5.32	2.04	5.98	5.37	3.08	.0786
KNOW	13.37	4.96	13.22	5.03	19.70	3.76	13.48	4.63	19.65	13.52	102.50	.0000

BE: Blacks in Experimental Group (N = 10)
BC: Blacks in Contrast Group (N = 7)
WE: Whites in Experimental Group (N = 43)
WC: Whites in Contrast Group (N = 54)

Differences obtained between Blacks and Anglos in the experimental group were significant on the following dependent variables: EFF5, EFF2, and KNOW. Blacks manifested higher EFF5 scores than did Anglos in the experimental group, while Anglos' scores on EFF2 and KNOW were higher than Blacks'. No significant differences were found between the adjusted means of Blacks and Anglos in the contrast group on any of the dependent variables, or between Blacks in the experimental group and Blacks in the contrast group. However, differences between Anglos in the two treatment groups were found to be significant on CYN, EFF8, EFF2, and KNOW. The adjusted means of Anglos in the contrast groups were significantly higher on CYN, and lower on EFF8, EFF2, and KNOW than were those of their counterparts in the experimental group.

To further interpret the results of the analyses of covariance, analyses of variance of pretest and posttest scores for each ethnicity/treatment group were performed to ascertain whether or not changes on the post-tests were significant. The following significant differences were obtained: 1) Anglos in the contrast group gained on CYN ($p = .063$) and decreased on EFF8 ($p = .100$; 2) experimental group Anglos gained on EFF2 ($p = .017$) and KNOW ($p = .000$);

and 3) experimental group Blacks gained on EFF8 ($p = .117$) and on EFF5 ($p = .008$).

Results of the Analyses of Covariance at School B (Blacks and Mexican-Americans)

Mean political cynicism, political efficacy, and political knowledge scores are summarized by treatment, sex, and ethnic group in Table 8. ANCOVA results are reported in Table 9. Examination of Table 9 reveals that the sex main effect was statistically significant on three criterion measures, CYN, EFF8, and EFF5. Only one significant treatment main effect, for KNOW, was obtained and neither significant main effects for ethnicity nor interactions were noted.

A series of planned comparisons between the adjusted means of males and females (within treatment/within ethnic group) were performed on all five dependent variables to explore the nature of the significant sex effect (see Table 10). A discernable pattern emerged. In every comparison, except Mexican-American males versus Mexican-American females in the contrast group, females' CYN mean scores increased whereas their EFF8 and EFF5 scores decreased. For males, the findings were

Table 8

Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Adjusted Means of Criterion Scores of School B Subjects by Treatment, Ethnic Groups and Sex

Treatment/Scale	Ethnic Group: Black Males					Ethnic Group: Black Females				
	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Posttest $\bar{X}$	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Posttest $\bar{X}$
Experimental (Males, N = 8; Females, N = 21)										
CYN	10.63	2.29	9.75	3.11	9.21	9.57	2.54	10.00	2.56	10.30
EFF8	17.89	2.57	19.62	1.73	19.89	18.76	3.39	18.38	3.65	18.28
EFF5	11.50	1.87	12.75	1.39	13.11	12.81	2.63	11.95	2.68	11.82
EFF2	4.38	2.00	5.38	1.41	5.35	4.24	1.23	5.05	1.79	5.06
KNOW	9.50	5.34	14.88	5.40	15.34	10.38	3.39	15.29	4.04	15.11
Contrast (Males, N = 15; Females, N = 4)										
CYN	10.47	1.93	9.20	2.32	9.23	11.00	2.35	11.50	1.12	11.38
EFF8	19.47	2.87	19.80	2.51	19.47	17.50	1.65	16.25	2.77	17.50
EFF5	12.87	2.19	13.40	1.99	13.16	11.50	1.50	10.75	2.59	11.65
EFF2	4.47	1.02	4.73	1.98	4.85	5.75	2.28	5.00	1.23	4.56
KNOW	11.67	3.89	13.13	4.62	13.25	12.25	3.77	12.50	6.10	12.08

TABLE 8 (continued)

Treatment/Scale	Ethnic Group									
	Mexican-American Males					Mexican-American Females				
	Pretest		Posttest		Adjusted Posttest	Pretest		Posttest		Adjusted Posttest
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$
Experimental (Males, N =14; Females, N = 23)										
CYN	10.21	2.40	9.43	3.09	9.26	9.78	2.00	10.17	2.41	10.28
EFF8	18.64	2.77	19.79	2.14	19.76	18.47	2.81	18.17	3.35	18.76
EFF5	12.64	2.38	13.43	2.13	13.30	12.17	2.51	12.00	2.17	12.08
EFF2	4.43	1.99	4.29	1.67	4.30	4.48	1.14	4.87	1.60	4.86
KNOW	14.07	3.43	18.57	2.13	16.73	9.04	4.18	14.74	3.96	15.86
Contrast (Males, N = 17; Females, N = 19)										
CYN	10.24	2.24	9.41	2.06	9.34	9.84	2.11	9.53	2.01	9.59
EFF8	18.77	3.67	19.24	3.35	18.83	17.68	2.99	18.26	3.73	18.62
EFF5	12.35	2.89	13.00	2.91	12.76	11.68	2.66	12.00	2.81	12.22
EFF2	4.47	2.09	4.53	1.61	4.43	4.11	1.59	4.47	1.90	4.57
KNOW	11.82	3.70	11.71	3.86	10.54	9.53	3.79	10.63	4.98	11.67

Table 9

Summary of Analyses of Covariance of School B Subjects' Pretest Scores on Posttest Scores for the Five Dependent Variables

Scale	Source	DF	Adjusted SS	Adjusted MS	F	p
CYN						
	Treatment	1	556.47	3.35	.70	.403
	Ethnicity	1	553.44	.32	.07	.795
	Sex	1	574.70	21.59	4.53	.035
EFF8						
	Treatment	1	855.06	.58	.08	.780
	Ethnicity	1	855.10	.63	.09	.771
	Sex	1	886.30	31.82	4.32	.039
EFF5						
	Treatment	1	492.30	4.24	.03	.865
	Ethnicity	1	494.49	2.31	.55	.462
	Sex	1	521.26	29.09	6.86	.010
EFF2						
	Treatment	1	308.79	2.65	.59	.445
	Ethnicity	1	311.10	3.87	1.46	.229
	Sex	1	307.39	.16	.06	.807
KNOW						
	Treatment	1	1639.53	519.38	53.79	.000
	Ethnicity	1	1121.08	9.66	.10	.756
	Sex	1	1120.65	.50	.05	.820

N = 66 in Experimental Group
N = 55 in Contrast Group

Table 10

Summary of Means and ANCOVA Results of Planned Comparisons of Four Ethnicity/Treatment/Sex Groups at School B

Variable	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Means		F	p
	BE Males				BE Females				BEM	BEF		
CYN	10.63	2.29	9.75	3.11	9.57	2.54	10.10	2.56	9.21	10.30	1.36	.2529
EFF8	17.89	2.57	19.62	1.73	18.76	3.39	18.38	3.65	19.89	18.28	1.52	.2268
EFF5	11.50	1.87	12.75	1.39	12.81	2.63	11.95	2.68	13.11	11.82	1.69	.2027
EFF2	4.38	2.00	5.38	1.41	4.24	1.23	5.05	1.79	5.35	5.06	.16	.6941
KNOW	9.50	5.34	14.88	5.40	10.38	3.39	15.29	4.04	15.34	15.11	.02	.8759
	BC Males				BC Females				BCM	BCF		
CYN	10.47	1.93	9.20	2.32	11.00	2.35	11.50	1.12	9.23	11.38	2.91	.1040
EFF8	19.47	2.89	19.80	2.51	17.50	1.65	16.25	2.77	19.47	17.50	4.80	.0416
EFF5	12.87	2.19	13.40	1.99	11.50	1.50	10.75	2.59	13.16	11.65	3.55	.0748
EFF2	4.47	1.02	4.73	1.98	5.75	2.28	5.00	1.23	4.85	4.56	.06	.7975
KNOW	11.67	3.89	13.13	4.62	12.25	3.77	12.50	6.10	13.25	12.08	.29	.6046
	ME Males				ME Females				MEM	MEF		
CYN	10.21	2.40	9.43	3.09	9.78	2.00	10.17	2.41	9.26	10.28	1.58	.2145
EFF8	18.64	2.77	19.79	2.14	18.57	2.81	18.17	3.35	19.76	18.76	2.86	.0966
EFF5	12.64	2.38	13.43	2.13	12.17	2.51	12.00	2.17	13.30	12.08	3.44	.0690
EFF2	4.43	1.99	4.29	1.67	4.48	1.14	4.87	1.60	4.30	4.86	1.10	.3013
KNOW	14.07	3.43	18.57	2.13	9.04	4.18	14.74	3.97	16.73	15.86	.71	.4099

TABLE 10 (Continued)

	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Pretest $\bar{X}$	Pretest SD	Posttest $\bar{X}$	Posttest SD	Adjusted Means		F	P
	MC Males				MC Females				MCM	MCF		
CYN	10.24	2.24	9.41	2.06	9.84	2.11	9.53	2.01	9.34	9.59	.14	.7077
EFF8	18.77	3.67	19.24	3.35	17.68	2.99	18.26	3.73	18.83	18.62	.05	.8212
EFF5	12.35	2.89	13.00	2.91	11.68	2.66	12.00	2.81	12.76	12.22	.52	.4824
EFF2	4.47	2.09	4.53	1.61	4.11	1.59	4.47	1.90	4.43	4.57	.07	.7869
KNOW	11.82	3.70	11.71	3.86	9.53	3.79	10.63	4.98	10.54	11.67	1.34	.2549

BEM: Black males in experimental group (N = 8).
BEF: Black females in experimental group (N = 21).
BCM: Black males in contrast group (N = 15).
BCF: Black females in contrast group (N = 4).
MEM: Mexican-American males in experimental group (N = 14).
MEF: Mexican-American females in experimental group (N = 23).
MCM: Mexican-American males in contrast group (N = 17).
MCF: Mexican-American females in contrast group (N = 19).

exactly reversed. Among both the Black and Mexican-American males, CYN mean scores decreased while the EFF8 and EFF5 mean scores increased; scores of Black males also increased on EFF2, while the EFF2 scores of Mexican-American males decreased. For Mexican-Americans in the contrast group, mean scores of both males and females decreased on CYN and increased on the three scales of EFF.

While Black females in the experimental group scored higher on CYN and lower on EFF in the posttest than did Black males, none of these sex differences was statistically significant. In the contrast group, however, differences between Black males and females were found to be statistically significant on three dependent variables: CYN, EFF8, and EFF5. The reverse pattern emerged among the Mexican-Americans. Here, significant differences between the sexes were found in the experimental group rather than in the contrast group. Females' scores on the posttest measures were higher on CYN and lower on EFF8 and on EFF5. These findings indicate that the experimental units probably had a more "positive" impact on Blacks and Mexican-American males than on Mexican-American females, and that this latter group may have been "negatively" affected by the experimental curriculum. The pattern of this

sex effect may have worked to mask a possible treatment effect at School B.

Again, in an effort to probe the results of the covariance analyses an analysis of variance of individuals' pretest and posttest scores for each sex/ethnicity/treatment group was performed. While few differences were statistically significant, a pattern emerged which may be interpreted to mean that the experimental units were more salient than the contrast units in affecting the political orientations of interest.

In the contrast group, no changes on the posttest scores were significant except among Black males where CYN decreased ($p = .097$) and EFF5 ($p = .161$) and KNOW ($p = .136$) increased. As would be expected, all sex/ethnic groups within the experimental treatment group increased their scores on KNOW ($p = .000$). Beyond this, in the experimental group, Mexican-American males increased on EFF8 ($p = .151$) and EFF5 ($p = .245$) and Mexican-American females increased on EFF2 ($p = .248$). Among Blacks in the experimental group, males increased on EFF8 ($p = .188$) and EFF5 ($p = .178$), while females increased on EFF2 ($p = .047$) and decreased on EFF5 ($p = .188$). Hence, Mexican-American students

appeared to be less affected by both the experimental and contrast units than were Black students.

Analysis of Student-Initiated Classroom Interaction

Findings at School A (Anglos and Blacks)

The mean number of initiations per student for each of the seven trials is plotted in Figure 1; data from both the experimental and contrast groups are depicted. (It should be recalled that fourteen classroom observations were made in each of the eight classrooms involved in the study. One trial equals two 55 minute observations in a single week.) Figure 2 reveals the number of different students in both the experimental and contrast groups who initiated one or more times during each of the seven trials.

Class means for a single trial were computed by summing individual student means (the total number of initiations during the two observations of that week divided by two), dividing this sum by the total amount of time of observation during the two class periods that week, and multiplying by 55 minutes. Because the resulting figure usually was a small number, each figure was multiplied by ten.

The data indicated that, except for trials 3 and 5, there was more student-initiated interaction in the experimental group than in the contrast group. (It should be noted that in the experimental group, the days chosen at

FIGURE 1

Mean Number of Student Initiations in the Experimental and Contrast Groups at School A During the Experimental Perio

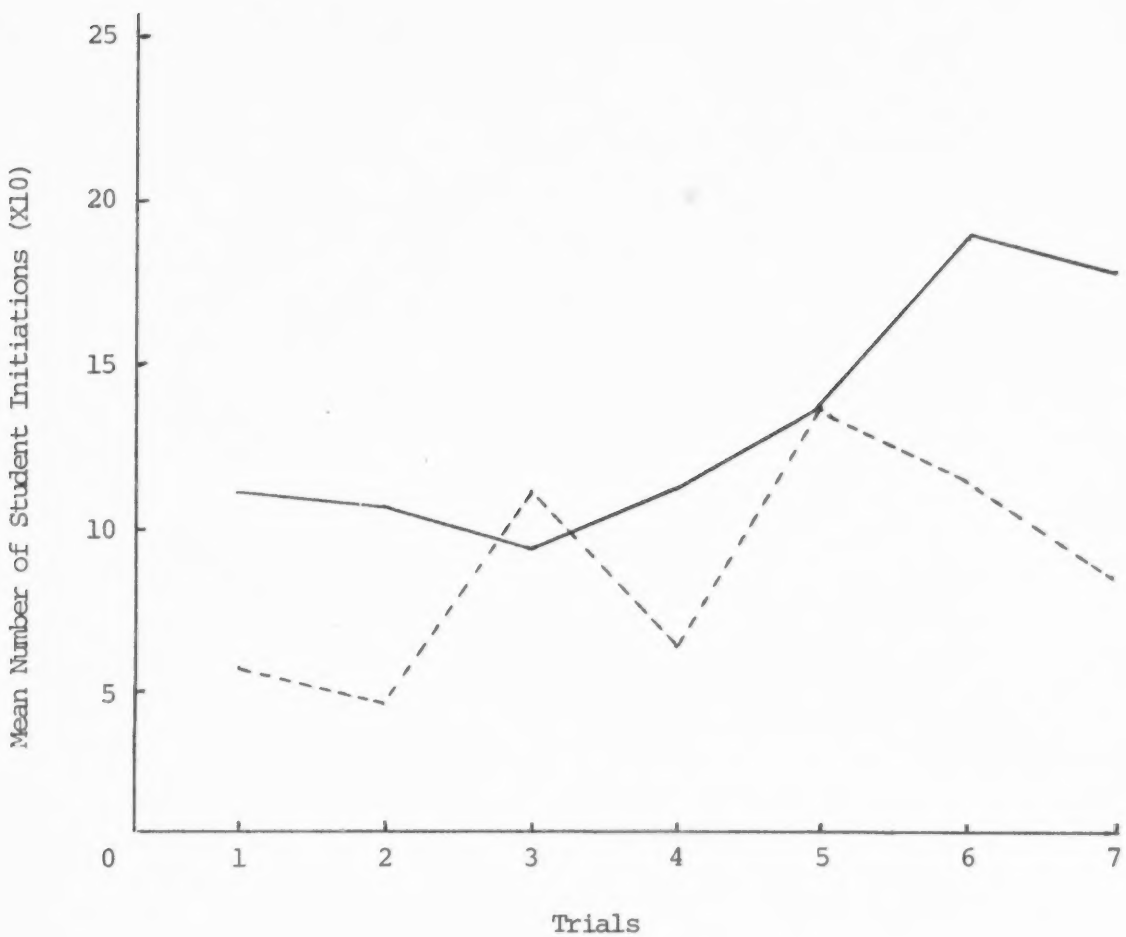
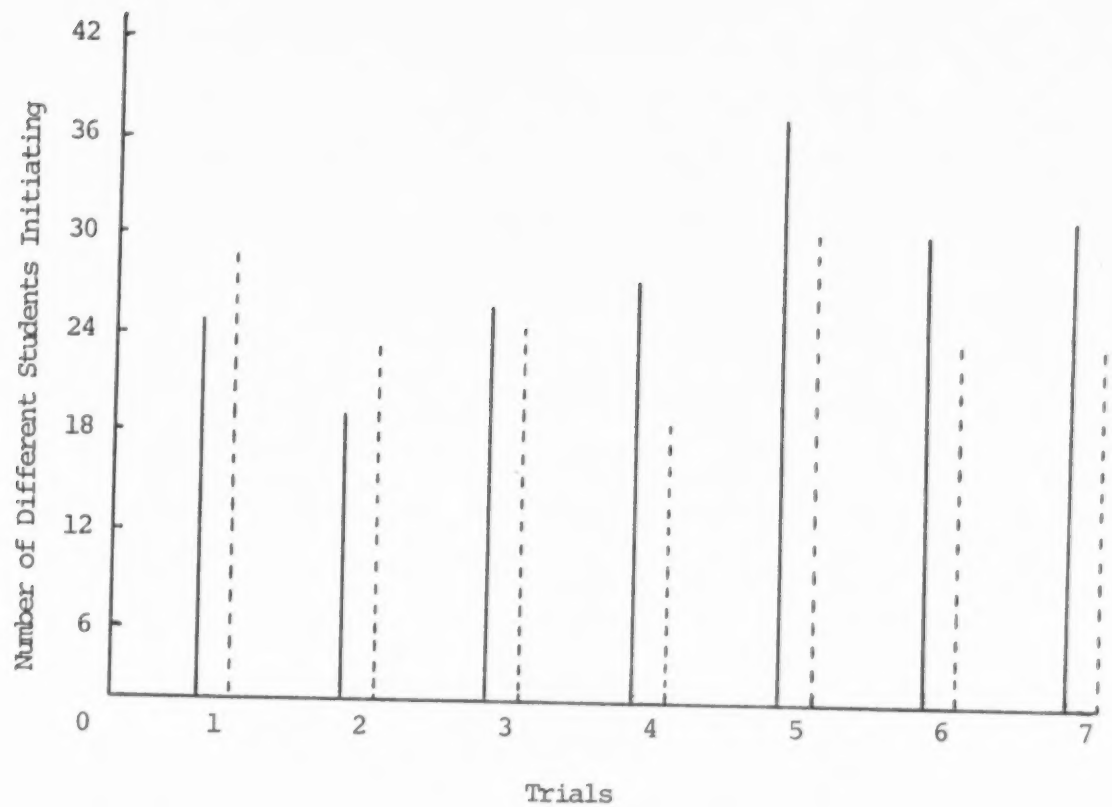


FIGURE 2

Number of Different Students Initiating in the Experimental and Contrast Groups at School A During the Experimental Period



— Experimental Group

- - - Contrast Group

random for the observations in trials 3 and 5 were atypical in that there was less opportunity for students to initiate interactions than in the other class periods chosen for both the experimental and contrast group. The observations in trial 3 took place during teacher directed lessons whereby students deductively arrived at a distinction between institutional and individual racism. Both observations in trial 5 hit upon two of the four lecture days which were part of the experimental curriculum. While students did initiate questions and statements during trials 3 and 5, clearly there was less than the usual opportunity for them to do so. In the contrast group, on the other hand, none of the randomly chosen observations fell on a formal lecture day.) Further, a linear trend emerged which revealed that the amount of student-initiated interaction increased in both groups, but that this increase was greater in the experimental group. Beyond this, it was evident that after the second trial, a wider range of different students in the experimental group initiated than in the contrast group--even during trials 3 and 5 when the class mean number of initiations was slightly higher in the contrast group. This finding is even more important when one considers that there were ten more students in the contrast group than in the experimental group.

Table 11 summarizes findings from analyses of variance using a repeated measures design. The main effect for treatment, the only effect of interest here, is significant at the .10 level.

Table 11

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Student Initiated Interaction in Experimental and Contrast Groups Across Seven Trials in School A

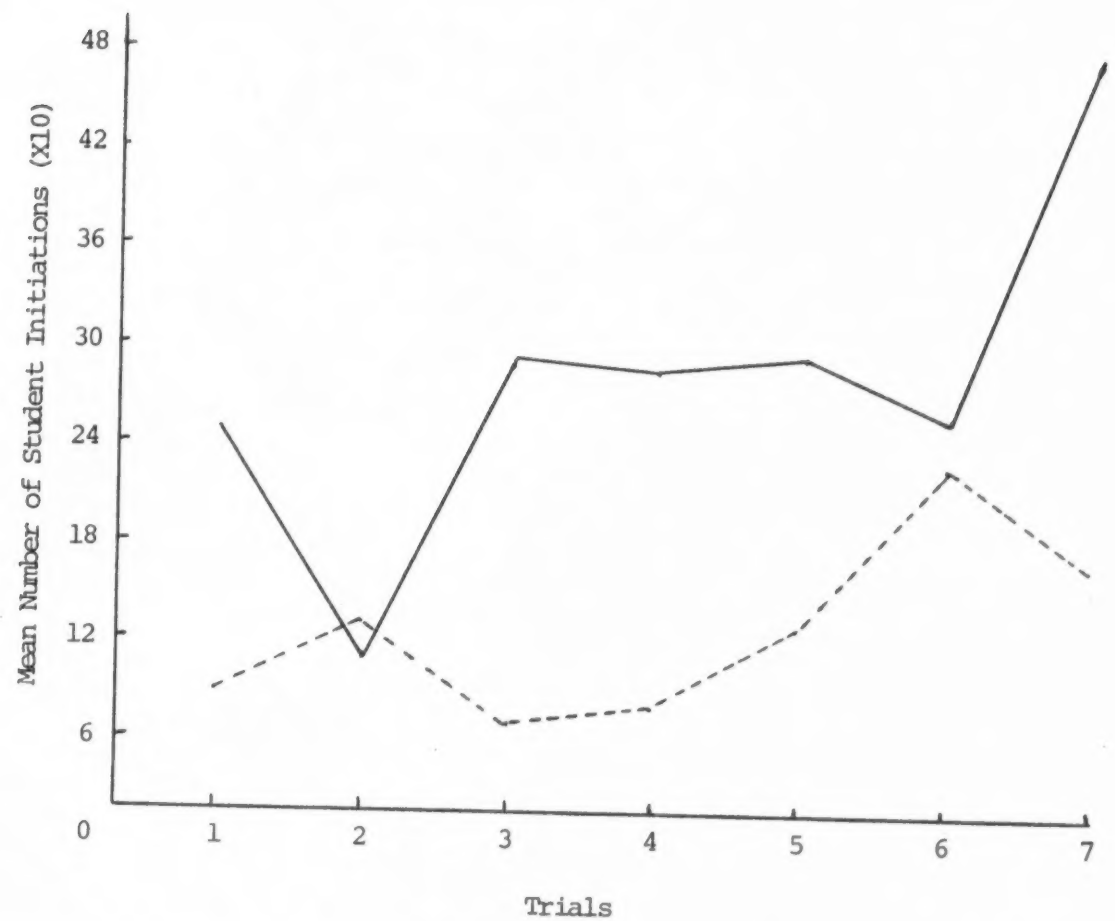
Source of Variation	MS	DF	F	p
Between Groups		118		
Groups	66.968	1	2.717	.098
Error	24.644	117		
Within Groups		714		
Trials	16.188	6	4.745	.000
Groups x Trial	6.641	6	1.946	.070
Error	3.412	702		

Apparently, at School A, the null hypothesis may be rejected. Increases in the amount of student-initiated interaction during the experimental period were greater in the experimental group than in the contrast group, particularly when the number of different students initiating is considered.

Figure 3 compares mean number of initiations made by Blacks in the experimental group with those made by Anglos in the experimental group. Proportionately, the Blacks made more initiations than did their Anglo classmates. While the level of initiations among Blacks remained relatively high throughout the experimental period, there was an increase at the end, with an average of almost five initiations per class

FIGURE 3

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and Anglos in the Experimental Group at School A



— Blacks

--- Anglos

FIGURE 4

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and Anglos in the Contrast Group at School A

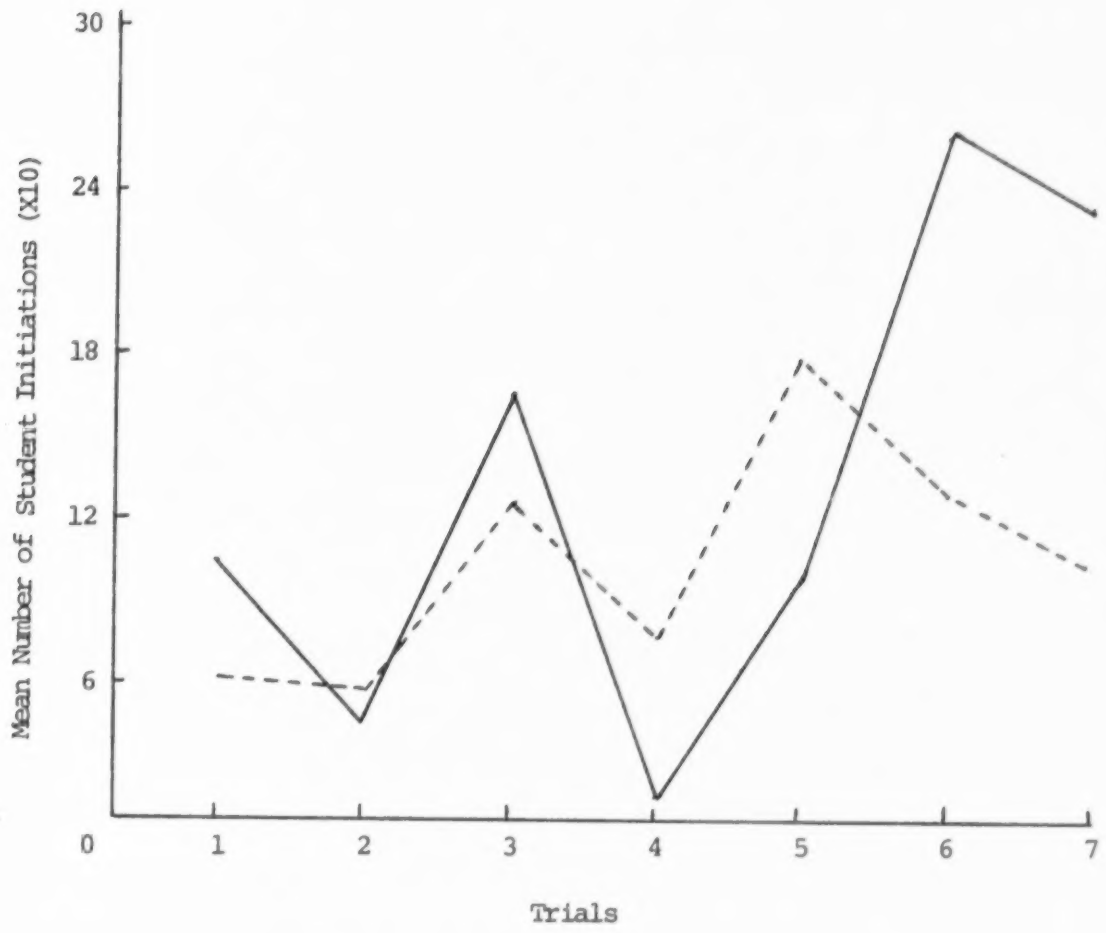


FIGURE 5

Mean Number of Student Initiations in the Experimental and Contrast Groups at School B During the Experimental Period

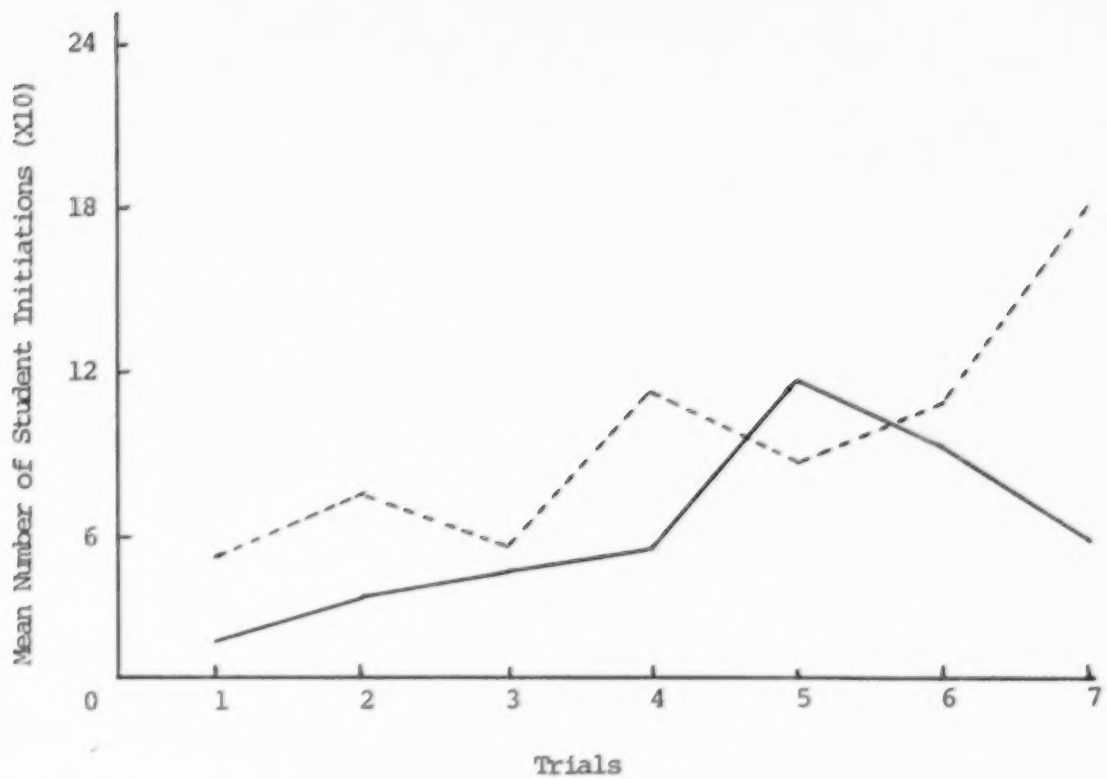
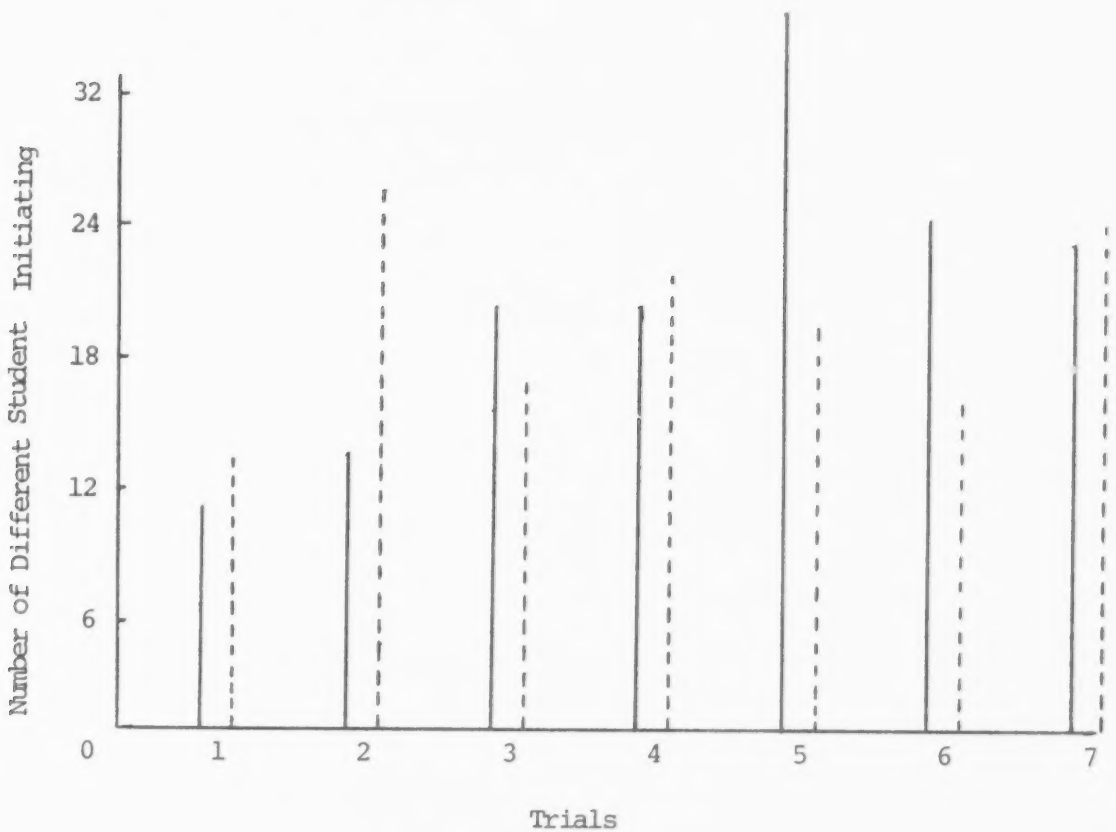


FIGURE 6

Number of Different Students Initiating in the Experimental and Contrast Groups at School B During the Experimental Period



period for each Black student during the last week of observation. The analyses of variance using a repeated measures design revealed a main effect for ethnic group significant at the .031 level.

Similar differences between the patterns of interaction of Blacks and Anglos were not discovered in the contrast group. Figure 4 indicates that during approximately half of the trials Blacks initiated somewhat more interactions, while Anglos initiated more during the other trials. An analysis of variance using repeated measures revealed the probability of a main effect for ethnic group to be .707; thus, the hypothesis is accepted.

At School A, then, significant differences existed between the two ethnic groups in the experimental group in terms of the amount of student initiation. Such differences did not exist in the contrast group.

Findings at School B (Blacks and Mexican-Americans)

Mean number of initiations per student for each of the seven trials is plotted in Figure 5, with data presented from both the experimental and contrast groups. The number of different students per treatment group who initiated one or more times per trial is presented in Figure 6.

The data indicate that, overall, there was more student-initiated interaction in the contrast group than in

the experimental group and that the trend over time shows a steadier increase of student initiation in the contrast group. However, an examination of the number of different students initiating during each observation reveals that for three of the trials more students initiated in the experimental group. While it is true that more student initiations occurred in the contrast group, it is also true that a very few students frequently dominated the discussion. For example, an examination of the raw data showed that during trial 4, one student initiated 19 times; another initiated sixteen times during trial 5; three students initiated 12, 10, and 16 times respectively during trial 6; and during the seventh trial, three students each initiated 14, 10,and 25 times respectively. In the experimental group, on the other hand, initiations were much more evenly distributed among the different students. Only one student initiated as much as five times, and this occurred only in one trial.

Table 12 presents findings from an anlysis of variance using a repeated measures design. The trial main effect and group x trial interactions are significant, but the main effect for group is not. Therefore, at School B, no significant differences in amount of student initiated interaction were discovered and the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Table 12

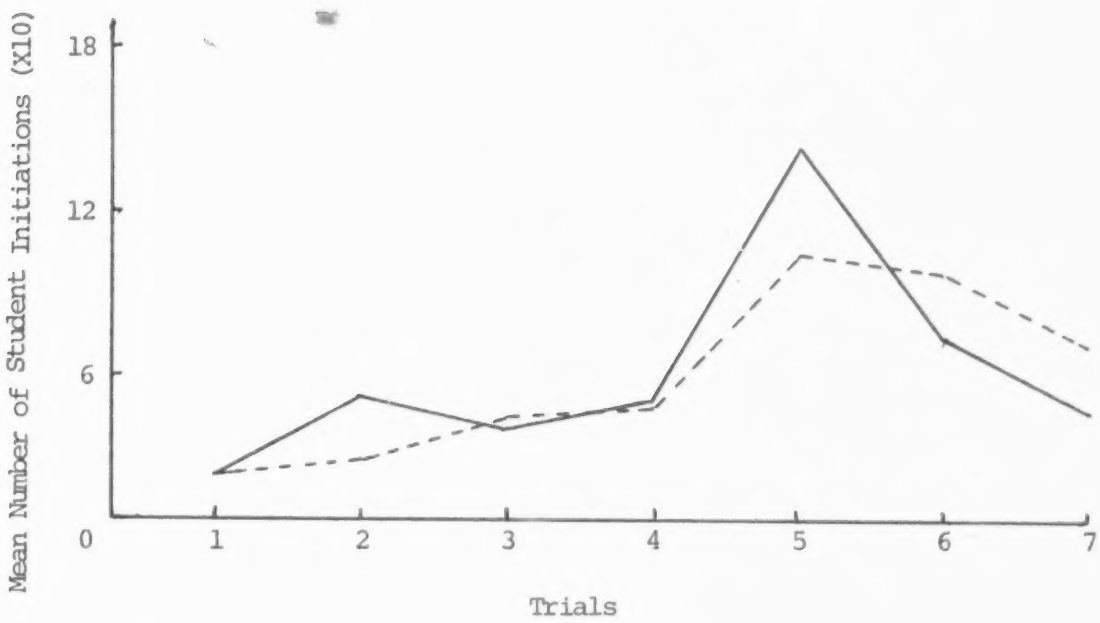
Summary of Analysis of Variance of Student Initiated Interaction in Experimental and Contrast Groups Across Seven Trials at School B

Source of Variation	MS	DF	F	p
Between Groups		119		
Groups	29.877	1	2.007	.156
Error	14.884	118		
Within Groups		720		
Trials	10.565	6	5.584	.000
Group x Trial	7.852	6	4.150	.000
Error	1.892	708		

Figures 7 and 8 display the mean student initiations by ethnic group within treatment group at School B. It appears that overall, there were no large differences between frequency of initiation of Blacks and Mexican-Americans in either treatment group. And indeed, the analysis of variance indicates that no significant differences between the ethnic groups existed in the experimental group ($p = .954$) or in the contrast group ($p = .842$). Hence, the null hypothesis that there were no differences between Blacks and Mexican-Americans in amount of student initiated interaction was not rejected at School B.

FIGURE 7

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and Mexican-Americans in the Experimental Group at School B

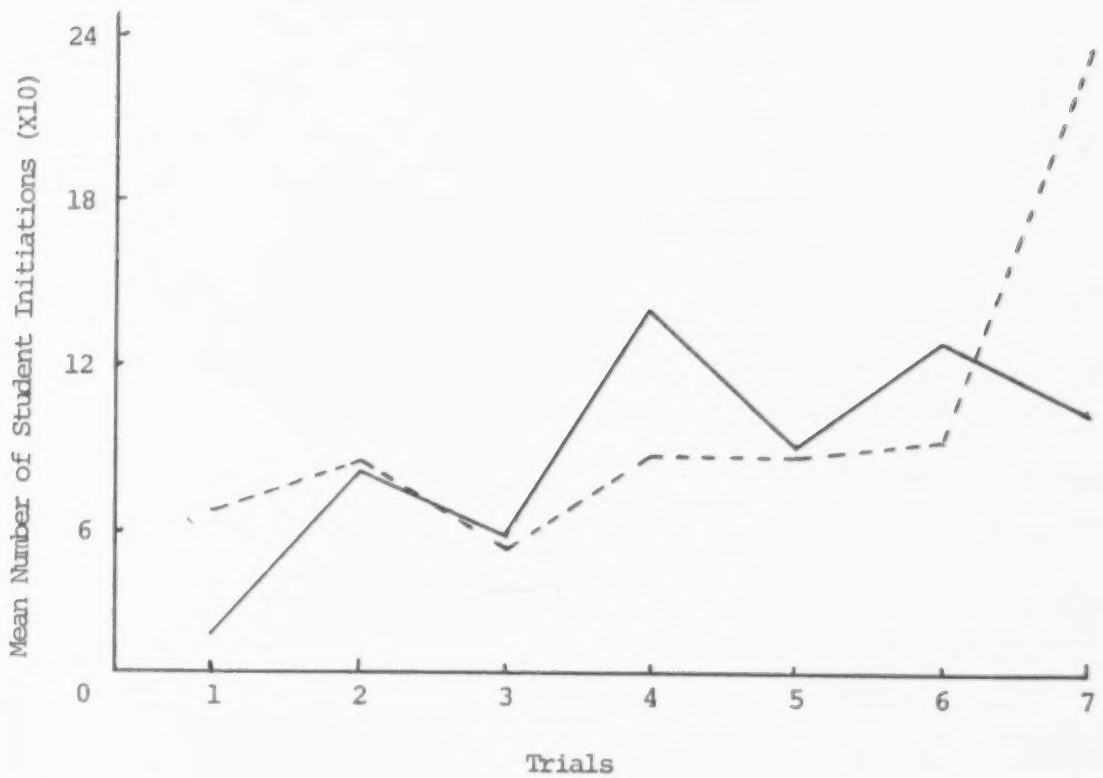


—— Blacks

--- Mexican-Americans

FIGURE 8

Mean Number of Student Initiations Among Blacks and Mexican-Americans in the Contrast Group at School B



— Blacks

--- Mexican-Americans

Analysis of Student Interviews

Interviewer:

Some of the students I've been talking with say their government class this year has been very useful, and some say it has not been useful. How do you feel about yours?

Student:

It was a very relevant part of my education . . . . Now, if I want to change something I know how to do it. Knowing keeps me from being as pessimistic and apathetic as I was, and I don't feel as if I'm as pessimistic as I was, and this is one of the things which brings tension and violence. If you don't know how to participate in your government, you're going to be very frustrated because the government is going to kick you around 'til you know how to use it.[5]

Thus began the interview of one Black male student at School A; his response is not atypical of students from the experimental group at both schools. With identical questioning, each student interviewed was asked to rate his most recently completed government course in terms of its usefulness to himself. The results in Table 13 indicate clearly that at both School A and School B, most students in the experimental group rated their government class as being more useful than did students in the contrast group. In Tables 19 through 23, the total frequency of girls in each category is underlined to differentiate the findings among males and females.

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[5]All quotations are the student's exact statement; emphasis noted is the student's own. Those quotations which are most representative of the respective treatment and/or ethnic group are selected.

Table 13

Student Rating of Value of Government Course*

	Very Useful	Useful	Somewhat Useful	Not Useful
School A				
Experimental Group				
Anglos (N = 11)	6 5			
Blacks (N = 9)	2 3	4		
Contrast Group				
Anglos (N = 5)	2	1 1		1
Blacks (N = 5)		2 2		1
School B				
Experimental Group				
Blacks (N = 10)	3 2	3 2		
Mexican-Americans (N = 10)	1 3	3 1	1	1
Contrast Group				
Blacks (N = 5)		2 2		1
Mexican-Americans (N = 5)		1 1		1 2

*Students' answers were coded "very useful" or "useful" if they could cite specific examples of the course's usefulness and/or interest. If a student was exceptionally positive and enthusiastic about the course, and used an adjective such as "very" in describing the usefulness of the course, his response was coded in the "very useful" category. The reverse reasoning was used in the "somewhat" and "not useful" categories.

The following quotations are from the taped responses of students from the experimental group and are representative of statements made by these students. With rare exceptions, no single student is quoted more than once in the entire analysis of the interviews.

Mexican-American male, School B:

> I learned how minority groups can get power--and this made me interested in politics. I didn't used to be interested in politics because I didn't think a Mexican-American could ever do anything. But he opened it up--he showed us how any minority group can have more power and recognition . . . . He gave us problems and said solve 'em!

Black male, School B:

> Mine was the best I've ever had. One reason is that the class was kind of based on a pamphlet--it had to do with both minority groups and everyone was pretty motivated. In the beginning when we had the text book it was just another course; I didn't want to come to class until he came up with this new book. This particular course was influencing . . . it made me want to get involved--to join a political organization for Blacks.

Black female, School B:

> The best! We talked about things we could do. I always thought everything was going to be as it was no matter what. This class made me feel I could have a say! I looked forward to it!

The reasons given for the usefulness of the course at School A are often different from those expressed at School B.

Black female, School A:

> Very useful. We talked about things of today like racial discrimination and Black culture. This is the first class I ever have been to where we talked

about Black culture and not just White culture.

Anglo female, School A:

Very. We talked about the problems of Blacks and Chicanos. This is the first time I've heard how Blacks really felt, and I think it brought us closer together.

Anglo female, School A:

More useful and interesting than I anticipated. And before I really hadn't thought about government; I guess it's because politics aren't brought up that much or discussed in my surroundings. And now, well, I think about it!

Anglo male, School A:

The part with our second teacher was the best. To me, it got some views from minorities that I'd never thought of. It kind of opened my mind up. And I learned how people could work to get things done--like interest groups. Before I just thought about votin'.

The following are typical remarks made by students in the contrast group on the usefulness of their government course:

Black male, School B:

Useful. It brought me up to date on what's going on, like when the Legislature meets and some other details . . . . We learned the leaders of all the countries and diplomats.

Mexican-American female, School B:

Useful. But it wasn't interesting. I didn't like our text. It was boring and out-of-date.

Each student was then asked to describe the classroom atmosphere according to the extent to which students felt free to openly express their opinions, and to assess their government teacher's enthusiasm, daily preparation,

and knowledge of the topics covered (see Tables 14 through 17). The data indicate that the perceptions of students in both the contrast and experimental groups at both schools are remarkably similar; most students (whether from the experimental or contrast group), perceived their classroom environment as an "open" one, and their teacher as being enthusiastic, well prepared, and knowledgeable in government.

Tables 18 and 19 summarize the extent and direction of influence from the government course on each interviewed student's feelings of political efficacy at the local and national levels, feelings of political trust at the local and national levels, political interest, and general feelings of political effectiveness. Each table contains data from one treatment group at one school and presents findings by sex and ethnic group.

The data in Tables 18, 19, 20, and 21 were coded as follows. The student's level of feelings of political efficacy was coded from items 9, 10, and 14 of the national level and from items 11, 12, and 13 for the local level. On items 13 and 14, both semi-projective items, as well as items 18 and 19, the interviewer attempted to ascertain the extent to which the government course had influenced the development of these orientations. Influence was coded as "strong" if the student described specific evidence of course influence for each item, "moderate" if evidence was given in three or

Table 14

Student Perceptions of Classroom Atmosphere*

	Open	Somewhat Restricted	Closed
School A			
Experimental Group			
Anglos	6 5		
Blacks	2 7		
Contrast Group			
Anglos	2 3		
Blacks	2 2	1	
School B			
Experimental Group			
Blacks	6 4		
Mexican-Americans	5 5		
Contrast Group			
Blacks	2 2	1	
Mexican-Americans	1	2	2

*Student responses to items 3 and 4 on the interview schedule (see Appendix C for details) are coded here. If a student felt that he and his classmates were completely free to express their opinions in class, and if he felt free to talk with the teacher if he had been treated unfairly or disagreed with something the teacher said, then his response was coded under "open." If he rarely felt this way, he was coded under "closed" and if he felt free only some of the time his response was coded under "somewhat restricted."

Table 15

Student Perception of Teacher Enthusiasm*

	Teacher Enthused	Teacher Somewhat Enthused	Teacher Unenthused
School A			
Experimental Group			
Anglos	6 5		
Blacks	2 7		
Contrast Group			
Anglos	1 3		1
Blacks	3	2	
School B			
Experimental Group			
Blacks	6 4		
Mexican-Americans	5 5		
Contrast Group			
Blacks	2 2	1	
Mexican-Americans	1	2	2

*The student responded here to a direct question about his teacher's enthusiasm, or interest and excitement in teaching government. If he described his teacher as being enthused and could give an example of this enthusiasm, his response was coded under "enthused." If the teacher was said to be enthusiastic on some days but not on others, "somewhat enthused" was used, and if he perceived his teacher to be uninterested or bored most of the time, his response was coded under "unenthused."

Table 16

Student Perception of Teacher Preparation*

	Well Prepared		Unprepared
School A			
Experimental Group			
Anglos	6	5	
Blacks	2	7	
Contrast Group			
Anglos	2	3	
Blacks	2	2	1
School B			
Experimental Group			
Blacks	6	4	
Mexican-Americans	5	5	
Contrast Group			
Blacks	3	2	
Mexican-Americans	2	3	

*The student responded to item 7 in the interview schedule, and responses were coded as for item 6 in Table 12.

Table 17

Student Perception of Teacher Knowledge of Topics Studied

	Very Knowledge-able	Knowledge-able	Didn't Know Enough
School A			
Experimental Group			
Anglos	6	5	
Blacks	2	7	
Contrast Group			
Anglos	2	3	
Blacks	3	2	
School B			
Experimental Group			
Blacks	6	4	
Mexican-Americans	5	5	
Contrast Group			
Blacks	3	2	
Mexican-Americans	2	3	

*The student responded to item 8 in the interview schedule, and responses were coded as for item 6 in Table 12.

Table 18

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes of Experimental Group Students at School A

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased	2	3			2	1		
Decreased		3	2			2	3	
Same			1					1
EFF at National Level								
Increased								
Decreased		2	3	2		1	1	4
Same			1					2
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased		3	2			1		
Decreased		1				1	2	
Same			1	1	1		1	4
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased								
Decreased	1	2				2	1	
Same			1	1	4	2		5

TABLE 18 (continued)

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased	6 1	1 3	1		1 1	2	1 1	
Decreased								3
Same								
Political Effectiveness								
Increased	1 2	5 1	2		1 1	1	3	
Decreased							1	2
Same								

Table 19

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes of Contrast Group Students at School A

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased								
Decreased								
Same				2 3				3 2
EFF at National Level								
Increased			1					
Decreased								
Same			1	1 2				3 2
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased							1	
Decreased			1 2					
Same				1 1				2 2
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased				1			1	
Decreased			2 1					1
Same				1				1 2

TABLE 19 (continued)

	Anglos				Blacks			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased			1				1	1
Decreased				1 3				2 1
Same								
Political Effectiveness								
Increased			1 1				1	
Decreased			1 1					
Same			1					3 1

Table 20

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes of Experimental Group Students at School B

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased	3 1	3 2			1 4	1	1	
Decreased	1					1		
Same								2
EFF at National Level								
Increased	2 1	2 1	1 2		1 3	1		
Decreased								
Same				1		1		3 1
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased		3			1			
Decreased	1	1			1 2	1 1		
Same				2 3				3 1
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased		2						
Decreased		1	1		2	2		
Same				3 3				3 3

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TABLE 20 (continued)

	Blacks								Mexican-Americans							
	Strong		Moderate		Weak		None		Strong		Moderate		Weak		None	
Political Interest																
Increased	5	1	1	1		1			2	3		1				1
Decreased																
Same								1							3	
Political Effectiveness																
Increased	1	1	2	2	1	1			1	3	2	1	1	1		
Decreased																
Same							1								1	

Table 21

Influence from Government Course on Political Attitudes of Contrast Group Students at School B

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
EFF at Local Level								
Increased						1		
Decreased								
Same				3 2				1 3
EFF at National Level								
Increased						1		
Decreased								
Same				3 2				1 3
Political Trust at Local Level								
Increased								
Decreased								
Same				3 2				2 3
Political Trust at National Level								
Increased								
Decreased								
Same				3 2				2 3

TABLE 21 (continued)

	Blacks				Mexican-Americans			
	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None	Strong	Moderate	Weak	None
Political Interest								
Increased						1		
Decreased			1					
Same				2 2				1 3
Political Effectiveness								
Increased								
Decreased						1	1	
Same			1	2 2				1 2

four of the items, and "weak" if evidence was supplied for one or two of the items. Political trust at the national and local levels was coded in like manner, using items 9, 11, and 15, although at times evidence of political trust (or lack of it) occurred spontaneously in response to other items. Political interest was coded according to an overall evaluation of the interview (e.g., the interviewee gave clear evidence of interest in politics, thinks and talks more about politics, is more aware of news media, wants to become politically involved) and influence from the course was coded as it was for political efficacy and trust. Finally, political effectiveness was based on item 21 and is simply the student's statement about whether he feels more or less effective than he did last summer. Again, course influence was coded from follow-up probing.

Summarizing the data from School A, Tables 18 and 19 reveal a clearcut pattern indicating that the experimental units were far more salient than the contrast units for Anglos and Blacks, and for males and females. Consistent with the findings of the analysis of covariance, the data suggest that the experimental units worked to enhance feelings of political efficacy among both Anglo and Black students, and feelings of political cynicism among Blacks, while the contrast units worked to decrease feelings of political trust among Anglos. The data also suggest that the experimental units may have had strong impact on the

political efficacy at the local level among Black girls; in both ethnic groups girls indicated stronger influence from the experimental government course than did boys.

Tables 20 and 21 indicate that the pattern of influence of the experimental units is even more clear cut at School B. Here too, the experimental units appear to be far more salient than the contrast units, and for all students except the Mexican-American females. When the data from School B are compared with the data from School A, however, clearly many more students at School B indicated a "very strong" or "strong" influence from their government course. These results are especially interesting, in view of the fact that the statistical findings of the analyses of covariance were much less conclusive at School B than at School A.

There are several possible explanations for this inconsistency. First, it is possible that too many "leading" questions were asked during the interviews. This is unlikely, however, in view of the fact that most interviewees were eager to talk and literally "gushed forth" with information before it could be elicited by the interviewer. Not uncommonly, an interviewee would go on for some minutes after the first question was asked. In addition, the interviewing schedule used with both groups of students was identical.

A more probable explanation is that the written questionnaire did little probing and a student could easily respond superficially. Furthermore, it is likely that the depthful probing used in the interview technique, plus the use of several semi-projective items, made it more possible to tap various dimensions of political attitudes during the interviews. This may have been especially true at School B since the use of questionnaires may not be as valid a means of measuring political attitudes among Blacks and Mexican-Americans as it is among middle-class Anglos, because of possible cultural biases in the questionnaire method and/or wording (e.g., Labov, 1969; Labov and Robins, 1969).

Finally, it is possible that the experimental curriculum had a delayed impact, and hence greater attitude changes were expressed during the interviews which were conducted some two months after the questionnaire posttest. Indeed, this is exactly what happened regarding Anglos at School A and the study of racism. Many of the students quoted below in the sections containing responses to the study of racism, reacted with hostility or indifference during the times when racism was discussed in class. Hence their "favorable" and spontaneous reactions several months later came as a surprise.

The nature of the influence from the respective government courses was also probed. Table 22 summarizes the choices of students at School A (by sex, treatment and

Table 22

Student Choices of those Aspects of their Government Course Having Biggest Influence on their Political Attitudes and/or Behavior School A *

	Experimental Group				Contrast Group			
	Anglos		Blacks		Anglos		Blacks	
Teacher on Cynicism					2		1	
Teacher on Writing Congress						1		
Racism, Minority Cultures	5	3	2	3				
Political Socialization	2	2	1	1				
Readings		1		1				
Action Research	3	3						
Courts				1				
Congressional Simulation								2
Problem Solving				1				
No Specifics Mentioned		1		1		2		3

*Data is based on coding of student responses to items 18 and 19 on the interview schedule.

ethnic group) of those aspects of the government course which had the greatest influence on their political attitudes and/or behavior. Responses were used only if actual evidence of such influence was uncovered.

One half of the students interviewed from the contrast group were unable to cite specifics or to think of any way their government class may have influenced them. Only two of the twenty students interviewed from the experimental group fell into this category. The most salient aspects of the experimental curriculum appeared to be the study of racism and minority group culture, political socialization, and, among Anglos, the action research.

Again, at School B the pattern is similar (see Table 23). Seven of the ten students interviewed from the contrast group were unable to cite anything influential about their government course; only one of the twenty interviewees from the experimental group fell into this category. Beyond this, however, the pattern was different. At School B, the categories which appeared to be most salient were "changing the government" and the "Blue Book of readings." While it is impossible to isolate the Blue Book from other aspects of the course, and many students at School A did refer to it at some point during the interview, it is interesting that nearly a third of the interviewees from the experimental group at School B indicated that the booklet of readings was in itself strongly influential.

Table 23

Student Choices of those Aspects of their Government Course Having Biggest Influence on their Political Attitudes and/or Behavior School B *

	Experimental Group		Contrast Group	
	Blacks	Mexican-Americans	Blacks	Mexican-Americans
"Changing the Government"	4	1 2		
Reading Booklet	3 2	2		
"Raps"	1 1	2		
Action Research	1	1		
Racism, Minority Histories	2	2 2	1	
Newspaper				1
Court Fieldtrip				1
No Specifics Mentioned		1	3 1	1 2

*Data is based on coding of student responses to items 18 and 19 on the interview schedule.

The following quotations typify the response of students from the experimental groups at both schools. Numerous students reported on the saliency and appeal of the readings booklet. In the words of one Mexican-American male at School B,

> The Blue Book told it like it really was and not how the white newscasters say it. In the textbooks we're doin' everything wrong and the Whites are doing it right. This book talked about the bus boycott, Watts, and Chavez. It showed you the different approaches and which ones work and what doesn't. In other words, if you ever have the urge to change something you will know what to do.

On the other hand, nearly every student interviewed from the contrast group was highly critical of the readings used in their government class. The following comments are representative:

> Black male, School A:
>
> If you want the truth, that book made me sick!

> Anglo male, School A:
>
> Our book was boring. It should be rewritten. I'd put it down the way it is and include opinions, because it only gave one outlook, one point of view.

Students in the experimental group often mentioned the case studies of political change as being useful:

> Black male, School A:
>
> Some time later in the future I might hafta use some of their methods to get something passed in Congress, or get something notified, or get something changed in Congress or in the city government, and I can use the same ways as they did.

Anglo female, School A:

From these you can see what way is most effective and if you want to change something you can see what works best.

Black female, School B:

It inspired me to read about Rosa Parks, and I think a lot of other people in class. Now I feel if she can do it I can too.

Mexican-American male, School B:

We studied the bus boycott and Chavez. It shows you that if you want to do something you can do it; all you have to do is try--but it is harder if you're not Anglo . . . . I didn't even know about that thing they had in Crystal City. These people got themselves together and did something; somebody else wants to do it, they could do the same thing.

This same boy continued:

I sort of put that on to school too. If I want to graduate I can. There's nothing holding me back but myself.

Other students too were moved to political action, sometimes action associated with the Black Power and Brown Power movements:

Mexican-American female, School B:

Before I didn't get involved very much, but now I'm involved in MAYO. I got interested in this and started my own group called MAYA. I found out about MAYO last summer, and everything has changed since then--but also my government class comes in too. MAYO didn't ring to me at first, but then we started talking about minority groups and then this mingled in with MAYO, you see, and I knew things and I got into it more in government and it helped me. Class gave me more ideas about what to do with my group.

Black male, School B:

There's a lot of my Black friends in organizations to help Black people, and this in a way coordinates

with the book that we were studying, and also our fieldwork. And suddenly I wanted to be part of an organization, that's how much the course influenced me.

Later in the interview, this young man revealed some interesting changes in his conceptualization of government:

> I remember in the eighth grade, I used to think government was just a bunch of horse rats who went and explored different countries. Columbus discovering America! (Laugh) Now, it's nothing like that. It's something that could help you and your people. Not only how things are ran, but also self-interest--parks, paved streets. There are many ways Blacks are dissatisfied, but being part of an organization or political group will help to bring about a change . . . . Before this course I didn't used to think about what I could do, but I know now that if I wanted them to listen I can make them listen. I can attract attention! If you can't do it by negotiating and compromising--non-violence, then there are alternatives, violent alternatives.

The following quotation illustrates that for some students, increased feelings of political efficacy is accompanied by increased cynicism:

> Mexican-American male, School B:
>
> We saw how if you don't feel something is right, get involved! I've learned that I don't have to be afraid to stand up and try. Before I thought someone would just call me a dumb Mexican. Now I see I have a chance.
>
> I also learned what a crooked politician is; I used to think they were holy. From the first grade, I was taught ours was the best government in the world. Brainwashed! Like the Pledge of Allegiance--it's just a routine!

Often students made insightful comments on their own changing thought processes, showing at least an indirect understanding of their own political socialization.

Black female, School B:

> For a while I've been feeling kind of down on the establishment, and when I found out how you can be influenced this way--how some groups can make you feel effective and others make you feel alienated, I had to stop and think. You begin to realize all the influences around you and it made me feel a little bit less down on the establishment, because like the Black Panthers can have this influence.

This same girl later went on to discuss her action research:

> . . . We chose the speeding problem for our research. We had to contact officials and police . . . , and we were successful. That made us feel a lot better. If it worked once you can do it again.

In contrast to this, the remarks made by students from the contrast group are remarkably different. Evidence of enhanced political interest and political efficacy was clearly absent.

Black male, School A:

> I didn't think very much about the government and I still don't. Most politicians seem to be out for themselves . . . . The government never seems to make much of a pretext of keeping up with the theory behind it; I mean freedom and liberty and brotherhood and also their salaries . . . . You have to become part of the government to change it and I don't see myself going that way.

Black female, School A:

> I really don't pay much attention to people in government. In Washington it's a lot of people up there for a job and they don't know how to do it right. Maybe they got a plan, but they don't seem to be gettin' much done. All they do is fight--and people goin' to the moon. I mean it just don't seem they know how to do what we need to be done. I mean if we can send people to the moon we can build recreation centers all over the world. And people starving!

Mexican-American female, School B:

> I respect our government more now. Before the class I didn't know what it was. Now I can vote and I care about it.

Several students from the contrast group expressed very negative ideas about government. It was impossible to ascertain the extent to which the government class may have influenced the development of these orientations and, of course, not all students in the contrast group expressed such negative feelings. But it is worth noting the similar remarks were not made by any interviewees from the experimental group. The following remarks are in response to items 13 and 14 on the interview schedule, both semi-projective questions designed to probe the student's feelings of political efficacy.

Black female, School B:

> I wouldn't try to do nothin' because I feel that they're going to do what they want to do anyway. I don't want to have nothin' to do with what they're doin'.

Mexican-American male, School B:

> I've always felt that the majority of our people really don't have a say in our government. Politicians are rotten to the core! We can't influence the government--mostly it's the rich and influential. We've been condemned on this side of town; I wouldn't be able to do much unless someone up there was concerned about it . . . . It's the same situation with Washington, only more impossible for us . . . . Yes, I'm registered, and I'll vote although it won't do any good. It's a pure sham. The rich run things.

Several students from the contrast group at School A indicated that their government teacher made them more cynical about politicians.

Black male, School A:

> He thought that all politicians were crooks and that the public wouldn't vote in an honest man, and I tend to agree. I never really thought about it before.

Anglo female, School A:

> Our teacher has been talking and talking and talking about how corrupt the government is. And so I'm beginning to think that maybe it's not what I think.

When this girl was asked whether or not she could have a say in what the government in Washington does, she responded with:

> I really don't think I can do anything unless I do something bad. You have to get national attention, and I'm not going to riot or anything.

Another student from the contrast group remarked,

Anglo male, School A:

> I <u>think</u> I can, but I don't know how to go about doing it.

This response contrasts sharply with nearly all the responses of students from both experimental groups who were able to describe detailed plans of action in reacting to items 13 and 14.

Although the study of racism was a minor portion of the experimental curriculum as planned, an interesting phenomenon occurred at School A regarding this topic. After

the study of individual and institutional racism was introduced during the third week of the experimental period, students kept bringing these concepts up and applying them to the case studies of political change later in the experimental treatment period. The taped interviews revealed the obvious conclusion that the study of racism was one of the most salient aspects of the experimental curriculum, at least for Anglos. This was obvious throughout the student interviews at School A; hence a generous sampling of student remarks on the study of racism is presented below.

> Anglo male, School A:
>
> My ideas about discrimination and racism against your minority groups have changed from saying they have quite a bit of say to believing they don't have much say. We read about Chavez and Martin Luther King and how discrimination has affected minority groups--and it kind of made me change my opinion to feel that minority groups <u>are</u> discriminated against more than I thought before I went into the government class . . . . Sometimes my friends are really racist and I kind of feel towards them that all Blacks are bad and no good. But government class had a great influence on me as far as not agreeing with my friends on discrimination and minority groups.
>
> Anglo male, School A:
>
> This kind of went against a basic fact that I got from my <u>own</u> political socialization--that people choose their own class, and if you want to get ahead you can. I never really believed institutional racism existed before; since government class, I've done more research on this . . . . It adds to my idea about inefficiency of government.
>
> Black male, School A:
>
> It really influenced me because I've been guilty of the same thing. I didn't realize that Whites are

held just as powerless to the system as Blacks, even though they are on top--more or less.

Black female, School A:

I never thought about institutional racism before. It enlightened me. I see it in every thing--I see it all around me every day.

Anglo female, School A:

I had never looked at Blacks and Chicanos the way we looked at them. I read this book by a Black and it showed the way they grew up, and I had never put myself into the place of a Black child before . . . . I used to not condone the things they do because I felt they were just trying to tear down. But now I understand that they are trying to build up.

Item 2 on the interview schedule gave the interviewers an opportunity to probe the extent to which students in the experimental group felt that they were receiving special treatment (i.e., the Hawthorne Effect). Not one of the interviewees understood the nature of the experiment, or felt he was receiving unusual treatment. The following quotes typify student perceptions of the "experiment."

Anglo male, School A:

We had this student teacher, no she was a student teaching supervisor from UT, and she got to teach our class because she wanted to keep in practice.

Anglo female, School A:

Well, our class was different because we had two teachers . . . we had this lady from the university who worked with student teachers out here, and she wanted a chance to teach too . . . to keep up to date, I guess.

Mexican-American male, School B:

> Well, at first our class was real boring, just reading the book and answering the questions. And our teacher could see we were bored, so he asked if we'd like to try a different way, and we voted on it and everybody said yes, and after that class was a whole lot better.

Finally, in an attempt to assess actual political behavior, each interviewee was asked whether or not he had had a chance to register to vote, whether or not he was currently involved in any political or social action, and whether or not he intended to become involved. Table 24 summarizes the data.

Whether or not the government class had been influential for those students who were registered to vote was often impossible to ascertain. And no pattern emerged to indicate that treatment and registration were correlated. Proportionately, approximately as many students in the contrast group as in the experimental group were registered to vote; this finding held consistent for both schools.

A slight trend emerged, however, which indicated that more students from the experimental group than from the contrast group at both schools were currently involved in some new political or social action. In each case it was determined that the government class had at least to some degree influenced the student to become involved in this activity. Furthermore, a number of students from the experimental groups at both schools expressed the clear intention

Table 24

Summary of Selected Political Behaviors Engaged in by Study Participants

	Experimental Group				Contrast Group			
	School A							
	Anglos		Blacks		Anglos		Blacks	
Registered to Vote	3	4	1	2	2	1	1	1
Not Registered to Vote	3	1	1	3		2	2	1
New Political Action	2	3	1					1
No Political Action	4	2	1	5	2	3	3	1
	School B							
Registered to Vote	6	1	3	3	2	2		3
Not Registered to Vote		3	2	2	1		2	
New Political Action	2	2	1	1	1			
No Political Action	4	2	4	4	2	2	2	3

*Data is based on coding of student responses to items 16, 16 and 17.

of becoming involved in such action in the near future (8 at School A and 7 at School B), while no students expressed this intent from the contrast group at School A and only two did so from this group at School B.

These findings may well reflect an influence from the respective government classes. While all students were targets of a "register 18-year-olds to vote" campaign, only those students in the experimental groups emphasized political action alternatives to voting in their government class. If anything, the experimental curriculum de-emphasized the vote and stressed other channels of political participation such as political parties, interest groups, protest, and direct action.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

While this research is clearly exploratory, the findings of this study support those critics of the "traditional" approach to political education who advocate emphasis upon political behavior, processes and conflict, rather than the usual emphasis upon government structure and institutions. The experimental units appeared to be salient means of increased feelings of political efficacy and interest among Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American students.

All three analyses of data supported this conclusion. Results from the student interviews reinforced the statistical findings on cynicism and efficacy and went beyond to suggest that political interest, and selected political behaviors, were also enhanced by the experimental curriculum. The analyses of student-initiated interaction showed greater increases in the amount and range of different students initiating in the experimental group than in the contrast group at School A. At School B, a wider range of students initiated statements and/or questions in the experimental group than in the contrast group as the experimental treatment progressed. Since an initiation is an efficacious behavior, both student attitudes and behavior appeared to have changed. Since

these multiple indicators corroborate each other there is strong evidence that the experimental units did have impact on the political orientations of interest in this study.

The data also suggest that feelings of political cynicism among Anglos using the experimental materials did not increase. Hence, as was noted by Patrick (1971), the study of conflict and the "sordid realities" of the American political system seems not necessarily to diminish feelings of political trust.

Blacks in the School A experimental group demonstrated increased feelings of both political cynicism and political efficacy. These findings are consistent with Ehman's (1970) conclusions that the discussion of controversial social issues does not erode the political trust of Anglos, while the feelings of political cynicism are promoted among Blacks exposed to such issues. Too, data from this study are consistent with Ehman's finding that increased treatment of controversial issues in social studies classes is related to increased feelings of political efficacy among both Black and Anglo students. According to Ehman, "Increased opportunity for participation in class appears to be the relevant linkage for white adolescents; for blacks, exposure to successful models of political participation is the explanatory factor." (p. 119) Support for this conclusion was discovered in the present study's student interviews among Black and Mexican-American students, and in a sense among Anglo students

too. Blacks and Mexican-Americans gave evidence of having been strongly influenced by the case studies of political change in the experimental curriculum; case studies most frequently cited (i.e., Montgomery Bus Boycott, California grape pickers' strike, Chicano take-over in Crystal City, Texas) were viewed by the students as models of political action for change. On the other hand, the actual political fieldwork, along with the study of racism, appeared to be most salient for Anglos.

That the contrast units seemed to be effective in reducing cynicism and increasing efficacy among Blacks, but had the reverse effect for Anglos, may be related to the findings of Langton and Jennings (1967). They indicate that the "traditional" twelfth grade curriculum has more "positive" impact on Blacks than among Anglos and that it is largely redundant for Anglos. Perhaps the lack of impact these units had on Mexican-Americans in the study was also due to a redundancy factor. Other possible explanations, however, would include the existence of basic political orientations among Mexican-Americans which differ from those of Black and Anglo-Americans (Garcia, 1972), or the nature of the instrumentation itself.

In contrast to the Langton and Jennings findings, the non-experimental units appeared to be salient in increasing Anglo students' feelings of political cynicism and in decreasing their feelings of political efficacy. However, these findings

must be cautiously interpreted. A "traditional" government curriculum in other settings should not be assumed to increase students' feelings of political cynicism and decrease their feelings of political efficacy as the contrast units in this study appear to have done. But at the very least the data indicate that twelfth-grade government curriculum which emphasizes structure and institutions and deemphasizes patterns of political conflict and change may sometimes operate to increase orientations of political alienation in the student.

The experimental units appear to have made the Anglo students more aware of concrete actions they personally could take to "solve" the national and local problems they perceive as being most severe. Furthermore, after experiencing this curriculum they appeared to see themselves as more likely to take such action, and less likely to react with apathy. To the extent that political orientations of alienation and apathy have indeed been decreased, changes in the political behavior of these citizens can be expected in the direction of action within the political system. For Blacks and Mexican-Americans, the experimental units may have enhanced the appeal of the Black Power and Brown Power movements with their emphasis on unity, organization, community power and a general "do-it-yourself" philosophy.

Some Implications for the Social Studies

This study supports claims that the school can become a potent agent of political socialization among adolescents. While no measure of the relative impact of the school, as compared with other key agents of political socialization, was obtained, the salience of the school can be enhanced by the implementation of curricular changes.

For those social studies educators who accept the assumption that "teaching for political efficacy" and political interest should be major goals of political education, this research offers support to the hope that such goals are attainable. Further, the study suggests directions in which social studies curriculum might move to promote them.

Implicit in the experimental curriculum is the view that political and social change is necessary and good; that American society has problems (a "reality" students are well aware of); that there are means by which citizens can work to resolve these problems; and that when the channels of political change within the system are closed to certain groups, increased conflict may emerge. In this sense, conflict is viewed as creative rather than necessarily destructive, because eventually this conflict may result in the opening up of avenues of participation to those who have been excluded.

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[6]Conflict may be in the form of legitimate avenues of protest and dissent, civil disobedience, or violence (destruction of life and/or property); it is not necessarily violent.

Hence, conflict is a vital and constructive part of the American political system.

In contrast, the "traditional" approach to government is built around the idea of preserving the status quo. Therefore the important things for students to know are the political structures and institutions. According to this interpretation of education in government, the system itself operates quite perfectly; there are no major problems and hence no need to worry about "solving" anything; conflict is viewed as a threat to the system's smooth operation, and hence is destructive.

In this study, the "dynamic" approach was far more salient than that of the "status quo." Possibly, the experimental units had more appeal to the students than did the contrast units because youth tends to be change oriented. Further, the experimental units informed students of ways by which they personally could get involved in resolving the social and political problems they perceived as most important. The acquisition of this information and accompanying sentiments alone seemed to work to enhance feelings of political efficacy and interest, particularly among Anglo and Black girls.

In contrast to the period of the 1930's, when most social scientists viewed society as stable and basically peaceful, the current paradigm of most social scientists envisions society as dynamic, and filled with tensions and

contradictions. This being true, such turmoil and contradiction is reflected in everything youth experiences, and is increasingly being reflected in the school, but the school still lags behind. According to Hess (1969), the school's emphasis on stability and consensus contributes to the very fragmentation which political socialization is meant to prevent. Hess writes that:

> ...elementary-school children have a highly idealized view of the Government and a very high estimate of the power of the individual vote, combined with ignorance of other legitimate channels of influence. These views are unrealistic (a fact that is becoming increasingly obvious today to children themselves) and they do not offer a good foundation for active, effective participation in a democratic process. They seem to point more toward compliance and complacency on one hand, and toward disillusionment, helplessness, anger and perhaps even rejection of the system on the other. (p. 25)

A social studies curriculum oriented toward change and the resolution of tensions and conflicts is more relevant and realistic to the student--to the extent it is closer to the reality he perceives.

Another implication valuable for the social studies is that the study of political socialization gave students insight not only into how their own political attitudes are shaped, but also how racism and prejudice develop. An indirect (and originally unintended) means of approaching racial prejudice, political socialization proved to be a powerful approach among Anglos especially.

Perhaps most important for social studies educators is the finding that students' feeling of political alienation

were affected by the experimental units. A major implication here is that social studies teachers may well be able to mediate the rising tide of political alienation among much of America's youth. And this possibility leads into implications for race relations in America. The finding that the experimental units appeared to enhance inter-ethnic empathy and cultural appreciation suggests obviously positive implications of the curricular approach taken. But beyond this, if Greenberg (1970) is correct in suggesting that differing patterns of political socialization are at the root of racial unrest in this society (i.e., that non-Anglos are socialized into more negative orientations than are their Anglo counterparts), then the finding that selected social studies curriculum units may work to mediate orientations of alienation has social significance beyond political education in the schools.

The experimental units developed for this study are not suggested as the "only," the "best," or even "one of the best" means of teaching government. The argument is asserted, however, for those who agree with the writer's biases, that curricula based on the philosophy underlying the experimental units "works." How widely this finding holds true remains to be determined. However, the fact that the teacher of the experimental units at School B was at best unfamiliar with the curricula (also, the study of political socialization was unfamiliar to him) and did not

have the time to become adequately acquainted with the experimental lessons in advance suggests that these units may be used by teachers with "average" amounts of time, background, and expertise.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study needs to be expanded both cross-sectionally and longitudinally.[7] To assess the generalizability of the experimental units' impact, the study should be replicated with a sampling of twelfth-grade classrooms across the nation. Too, it would be worthwhile to implement the experimental units in eighth-grade social studies classes and measure the effects on a population whose political orientations are presumably more malleable than those of their twelfth-grade counterparts. Beyond this, replication at the eighth-grade level would include possible high school dropouts in the study population, an important group (perhaps the most alienated group) excluded in the present study.

Research replications adding new attitudinal dependent variables would be valuable. The present study suggests several: ethnocentrism, racial prejudice, tolerance for dissent, and attitudes about social change. If a large

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[7]One longitudinal study is planned as a follow-up to the 1972 presidential elections. The 60 students interviewed in the present study will be mailed letters and questionnaires and re-interviewed to determine what types of political behavior, if any, they have engaged in since graduating in June, 1972.

enough sample were obtained, the inclusion of personality traits (e.g., self-esteem, authoritative versus democratic personality types) as independent variables would be worthwhile.

Future studies using systems of coding classroom interaction in assessing the impact of experimental curricula might avoid a major data collection problem encountered in this study (i.e., several coding sessions took place during formal lectures in the experimental group, but not in the contrast group). Rather than selecting coding dates at random from all the available dates during the experimental period, a better procedure might be to code during one or several blocks of consecutive dates, with the starting date chosen at random. This alternative plan would enhance the chances of obtaining comparable lessons to be coded in the experimental and contrast classes.

Finally, a plea is made for improved instrumentation to be developed for the measurement of such political orientations as cynicism and efficacy.[8] The problem of valid procedures of measuring political attitudes is profound (Tanenbaum and McLeod, 1967; Greenstein, 1970; Agger and Pearl, 1961). Greater use of semi-projective items rather than superficial questionnaire responses appears to be one means of assessing various dimensions of political attitudes; this

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[8]In an ancillary effort not reported here, the writer found that the simple rearrangement of scale items could significantly decrease efficacy scores (p. = .002).

technique also appears to work with non-Anglos for whom pencil paper tests may be less valid (Hirsch and Gutierrez, 1972).

Concluding Statement

This investigation has demonstrated that the experimental units developed for the study have impact on students' political orientations of alienation in the direction of enhancing their sense of political efficacy, political interest, and selected political behaviors. In revealing this impact, the research suggests directions in which social studies educators might move if they are interested in "teaching for political efficacy." However, such research is clearly exploratory. Other intervention studies are propitious to the investigation of the influence of social studies curriculum on the development of students' political attitudes, and of the salience of the secondary school as an agent of political socialization.

A P P E N D I C E S

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (Pre-test)

Directions (to be read to class):

I am working with a group of high school government teachers to try to make government courses more interesting and useful to high school students. We need your help to do this. What I have here is not a test. It is simply a list of questions asking what you think about our government. The important thing is for you to be as honest as you can in answering the questions. There are no right or wrong answers, and it is important for you to check "don't know" or "no opinion" if this is the case. Your name will not be used. Instead, you are to find your name on the single sheet which I passed out listing all the students in this class. Find the corresponding number beside your name. Please put this number in the blank beside "Student number." (Pause to let students do this.) In the blank beside "Classroom number," please put the number shown on the top of the class listing, which is __. (Pause to let students do this.) Please double check to make sure your student number and classroom number are correct. (Pause to let students do this.) Then check either male of female. (Pause to let students do this.)

After you have checked to see that this portion of the questionnaire is complete and correct, proceed to answer the questions in both Part I and Part II, being careful to

A P P E N D I X A

read the directions given on the questionnaire.

I want to stress again that this is not a test, there are no right or wrong answers, and we want you to be as honest as you can in answering the questions.

ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE (Post-test)

Directions (to be read to class):

As you may remember, I am working with a group of high school government teachers to try to make government courses more interesting and useful to high school students. I have a questionnaire similar to the one you completed early in the Fall. Now that you have completed a semester of government, we would appreciate your completing this one for us. Remember this is not a test. It is simply a list of questions asking what you think about our government. The important thing is for you to be as honest as you can in answering the questions. There are no right or wrong answers, and it is important for you to check "don't know" or "no opinion" if this is the case. Your name will not be used. Instead, you are to find your name on the single sheet which I passed out listing all the students in this class. Find the corresponding number beside your name. Please put this number in the blank beside "Student number." (Pause to let students do this.) In the blank beside "Classroom number," please put the number shown on the top of the class listing, which is __. (Pause to let students do this.) Please double check to make sure your student number and classroom number are correct. (Pause to let students do this.) Then check either male or female. (Pause to let students do this.)

After you have checked to see that this portion of the questionnaire is complete and correct, proceed to answer the questions in both Part I and Part II, being careful to read the directions given on the questionnaire.

I want to stress again that this is not a test, there are no right or wrong answers, and please be as honest as you can in answering the questions. Thank you.

Student number_____ Classroom number_____

Questionnaire number_____

Male_____ Female_____ (check one)

_____(Leave blank.)

PART I. STUDENT'S BELIEFS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

Directions. For the questions below please check the answer which best expresses the way you feel. There are no wrong answers; it is only important that you be as honest as you can.

1. Do you think that most of the people running the government are honest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are?

_____Quite a few are honest
_____Not very many are honest
_____Hardly any are honest

2. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money paid in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

_____Waste a lot
_____Waste some
_____Don't waste very much of it

3. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

_____Just about always
_____Most of the time
_____Some of the time

4. Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?

_____Almost all know what they are doing
_____Quite a few don't seem to know what they are doing

5. Would you say that the government is run for the benefit of all the people or that it is usually run by a few big officials looking out for themselves?

_____Run for the benefit of all
_____Run by a few big officials looking out for themselves

6. Do you think it is the <u>duty</u> of every person to vote?

_____Yes
_____No

7. Should the people be able to remove pubiic officials from office if they do not like what they are doing?

_____Yes
_____No

8. Do you believe that people have the right to change the government if they don't like what it is doing, or do you think the government should be kept like it is?

_____People have the right to change the government
_____The government should be kept as it is

9. Are you interested in politics?

_____Yes
_____No

For questions 10-27, read each statement on the left of the page. Then, choose the answer on the right of the page that best expresses the way you feel.

10. Voting is the only way that people like my mother and father can help run things.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

11. Sometimes I can't understand what goes on in government.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

12. What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

13. There's no real reason why we shouldn't have a female for President.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

14. It's possible that a non-white person may be elected President within the next 10-15 years.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

15. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

16. Compared to people in most countries, Americans have a lot of freedom.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

17. It's very unlikely that more big race riots will occur in America.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

18. I don't feel any "generation gap" within my family.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

19. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

20. School is worthwhile, I seem to get a lot out of most classes.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

21. Americans are the richest, happiest, and healthiest people in the world.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

22. I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

23. My family cares a lot about politics.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

24. Austin's City Council is working to help <u>all</u> the people in Austin.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

25. Most of what I hear on TV newsprograms is true.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

26. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.

_____strongly agree
_____agree
_____disagree
_____strongly disagree
_____don't know or no opinion

27. How much does the <u>average person</u> help decide which laws are made for our country?

_____very much
_____some
_____very little
_____not at all
_____don't know

28. Rate the following methods of bringing about political or social change from the most effective (use number 1) to the least effective (use number 6).

_____writing a government official

_____violent protest

_____peaceful marches or sit-ins

_____voting

_____economic boycott (for example, not shopping at a certain store)

_____other (please describe_____)

29. What do you think are Austin's two biggest problems?

1._____

2._____

30. Do you feel that you personally can do anything to help solve these problems?

_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know

If so, what?_____

If not, why?_____

31. What do you think are America's two biggest problems?

1._____

2._____

32. Do you feel that you personally can do anything to help solve these problems?

_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know

If so, what?_____

If not, why?_____

33. When do you plan to end your schooling?

_____Before high school graduation
_____After high school graduation
_____After 1 or 2 years of college
_____After completing a program training me in a special skill
_____After graduating from college (4 years)
_____After more than 4 years of college

34. What type of job do you hope to have when you finish school?

_____

35. Do you feel that a person with ability has a good chance of achieving success in our society, or do you feel that ability has little to do with it?

_____Person with ability has a good chance
_____Ability has little to do with it
_____Uncertain

36. How important to you personally is it to get ahead in life?

_____Very important
_____Not very important

37. Realistically speaking, how good do you think are your own chances of getting ahead?

_____Excellent
_____Fair
_____Not much chance

38. Do you plan to vote when you are elegible?

_____Yes
_____No
_____Don't know

PART II. WHAT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS KNOW ABOUT GOVERNMENT

Directions. In the following questions you are asked to write in an answer, to check an answer already given, or to check "don't know." This is not a test. If you do not know an answer, please check "don't know" rather than leaving the answer blank or guessing.

1. What is the voting age for American citizens in national elections?

_____

_____Don't know

2. Is the American President elected directly by the people?

_____Yes

_____No

_____Don't know

3. Presidential elections are held how often?

Every _____ years

_____Don't know

4. U.S. senators are elected how often?

Every _____ years

_____Don't know

5. Name one U.S. senator from Texas.

_____

_____Don't know

6. How often must Texans register to vote?

_____Every year

_____Every election year

_____Once in a lifetime, as long as one keeps a Texas residence

_____Other

_____Don't know

7. Name one member of the Austin City Council.

_____

_____Don't know

8. Name one decision made by the Austin City Council during the past year.

_____

_____

_____Don't know

9. Are there any current groups or organizations attempting to fight racial discrimination in Austin?

_____Yes

_____No

_____Don't know

10. If yes, name one.

_____

_____Don't know

11. Which of these famous Mexican-Americans are political leaders?

_____Cesar Chavez

_____Pancho Gonzales

_____Edward Raybal

_____Trini Lopez

12. Which of the following are Mexican-American political organizations?

_____Political Association of Spanish Speaking Americans (PASSO)

_____Chicanos United for Political Action (CUPA)

_____Mexican-American Political Organization (MAPA)

_____G.I. Forum

_____United Texans Arriba (UTA)

13-17. Match the name of a person in column 1 with the most appropriate item in column 2.

1	2
13. _____Stokeley Carmichael	a. NAACP
14. _____Martin Luther King	b. Communist
15. _____Roy Wilkins	c. Abolitionist
16. _____Frederick Douglas	d. "Black Power"
17. _____Malcolm X	e. CORE
	f. Montgomery Bus Boycott
	g. Black Muslims

18-26. Check whether the following are noted mainly for attempting change through violence (killing or destruction of property) or change through non-violent resistance (deliberate violation of a law, but with no killing or destruction of property).

18. Female suffragists (early 1900's).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

19. Farmers (late 1800's).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

20. California grape pickers (N.F.W.A.).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

21. Watts (summer of 1965).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

22. Labor (late 1800's).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

23. Urban League (present day).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

24. Crystal City, Texas in 1963.

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

25. Black Caucus (present day).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

26. Weathermen (present day).

___Violent ___Non-violent ___Neither ___Don't know

27. Do you think some americans feel politically ineffective?

_____Yes

_____No

_____Don't know

28. If you do think so, give one reason which explains why some Americans feel this way.

_____

_____

_____Don't know

APPENDIX B

EXPLANATION OF SICI SCHEDULE

I. Overview of the Schedule

This schedule is designed especially for coding discussion in secondary level social studies classes. It highlights the following aspects of classroom interaction:

1. Amount of student-initiated interaction as compared with amount of teacher-initiated interaction, and how this ratio may change as the semester progresses. (Note: Since student responses are coded only if they are spontaneous, or at least clearly voluntary, responese to teacher or other student questions or statements are included under student initiated interaction.)

2. The verbal nature of the interaction within the following categories: Procedural, Information, Opinion, and Personal (definitions below). Measurement of frequency changes within each category over time, for both students and teachers. (Not of immediate concern in present study.)

3. The non-verbal nature of the interaction within the following categories: Enthusiastic, Positive, Neutral, Negative, and Hostile (definitions below). Measurement of frequency changes within

each category over time, for both students and teachers.

4. Proportion of open versus private student initiated talk. Measurement of changes over time. (Not of immediate concern in present study.)

Of import in the present investigation, the schedule facilitates quantification of student-initiated interaction, comparisons with amount of teacher-initiated interaction, and how these may change over time during an experimental treatment. It will be used in this study to test the following hypothesis:

> Student initiated interaction will increase in the experimental classes to a significantly greater degree than in the contrast classes.

II. Explanation of Schedule's Mechanics

Each coder begins by filling in the general class activities at the top of the coding sheet. Coders are supplied with a classroom seating chart which numbers each student. Absentees are noted for each class period.

Entry into the coding sheet is made in one of two ways, depending upon who begins the interaction. If a student is the initiator his number is written under the STUDENT column; coding then progresses across the row. If the teacher is the initiator the appropriate box under TALK, within the TEACHER

TALK, is checked; coding then progresses across the row.

A new row is used for each interaction. A new interaction begins with every new statement, question, or response -- whether made by student or teacher. If at times discussion becomes too confused for accurate coding (i.e., numerous people talking simultaneously) this should be written across a row with the time interval noted. Where possible, student identification numbers should be included.

Once an entry is made (entry meaning student number or name), three checks are needed. If entry begins under STUDENT, one check under Initiation (Open -- TQ, SQ, SS; Private -- TQ, SQ, SS) OR Voluntary Response (Open -- T, S; Private -- T, S) is made. Next a check is made under Type; and finally a check is made under Tone.

If entry is made under TEACHER TALK, a check is made first in one of the following: SQ, RE, or Q. Two additional checks are needed. First a check under Type and second a check under Tone.

III. Explanation of Categories and Symbols

A. Student Talk

1. Initiation: Student initiates interaction on either an open level, intended to be heard by the entire class, or a private level, intended to be heard by one other or a small group of individuals.

a. TQ: student asks the teacher a question

b. SQ: student asks another student a question

c. SS: student makes an unelicited statement

2. Voluntary response: Student reponds to a statement or question made by the teacher or another student on his own volition. Usually he will clearly indicate his willingness to interact before being called on. Again, interaction is on either an open or a private level.

   a. T: student responds to a teacher initiated statement or question.

   b. S: student responds to a student initiated statement or question.

3. Type: This describes the nature of the student's question, statement or response. There are four descriptive categories.

   a. PR: Procedure. A question, statement, or response which deals with classroom procedure (i.e., reference to directions, plans, facilities, etc. "It's too hot in here!" "What are we going to study next?").

   b. INF: Information. A question, statement, or response which deals with information on the topic being studied. "Facts" rather than opinion (i.e., student asks

a question requiring a factual answer on what's being studied. "How does Prof. Lyons define political alienation?").

c. OP: Opinion. The same as INF except that an opinion rather than "facts" is asked for or given. (i.e., student gives his opinion on what political alienation means, or asks for the teacher's or another student's opinion.) While opinions are, of course, personal, OP is different from PER in that it (OP) focuses on content and is more concerned with which viewpoint a student agrees or disagrees with. (i.e., "I disagree with Carmichael and Hamilton when they say . . ."

d. PER: Personal. A question, statement, or response which is clearly personal in nature. Is differentiated from the above three in that it taps a personal "like," "dislike," "feeling," "preference," etc. Also included here are references to personal activities. (i.e., "Do you see yourself as being politically alienated?" "I really dig Malxolm X!")

4. Tone: This section attempts to capture the mood of the class by describing nonverbal aspects of classroom interaction. Analysis is based upon voice, body and facial expression. There are five categories.

a. ++: Enthusiastic, positive, warm; open emotion

b. +: Positive, but less emotion

c. 0: Neutral, no emotion; may include no response

d. -: Negative, mildly cold emotion; may include withdrawal

d. --: Hostile, open expression of anger, dislike, etc.

B. Teacher Talk

1. ST: Statement. Teacher initiates a statement.

2. RE: Response. Teacher responds to a student question or statement.

3. Q: Question. Teacher initiates a question. It may be intended for the entire class or one student, open or private.

NOTE: The remaining symbols under TEACHER TALK are defined in exactly the same way as under STUDENT TALK.

SAMPLE CODING SHEET

Page __ of __

GENERAL CLASS ACTIVITIES

Class: _____ Date: _____ Time: _____ (Start) to _____ (Stop)

Activity: _____ Observer: _____

Absentees: _____ (Total Time Elapsed)

STUDENT	STUDENT TALK																		TEACHER TALK										
	INITIATION						VOL. RESPONSE				TYPE				TONE					TALK			TYPE				TONE				
	OPEN			PRIVATE			OPEN		PRIVATE																				
	TQ	SQ	SS	TQ	SQ	SS	T	S	T	S	PR	INF	OP	PER	++	+	0	-	--	ST	RE	Q	PR	INF	OP	PER	++	+	0	-	--

APPENDIX C

SCHEDULE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

INTRODUCTION TO THE INTERVIEW

1. EXPLAIN THE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH.
   "You're probably wondering why you're here so let me explain right away. I hope you'll find this interesting. I'm working with a group of high school government teachers at UT on a project which we hope will make high school government classes more meaningful and interesting to students. We feel that the best way to do this is to talk with the students themselves -- especially those who have just finished taking government. And so, we hope you will agree to help us by answering some of our questions, and also by asking me any you might have."

2. DESCRIBE THE METHOD BY WHICH THE RESPONDENT WAS SELECTED
   "We selected a number of 12th grade students in several Austin high schools at random. We actually drew names out of a hat and your name was one we selected."

3. STATE THE ANONYMOUS OR CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF THE INTERVIEW.
   "If you agree to help us out on this, I want to assure you that everything you say will remain confidential -- it won't go beyond us. And don't let this tape recorder scare you, it's just that we've been talking with a lot of students and it's the best way we can remember what they say."

"What about you? Do you feel you'd like to help us out?"

"Good, then let's get started on some of the questions."

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Some of the students I've been talking with say their government class this year has been very helpful, and some say is has not been useful. How do you feel about yours?

   1a. Why or why not? Probe.

2. Let's see. How do you feel about your government class as compared with other government classes?

   2a. Probe. Do you think the teacher had anything to do with the way you feel?

*3. In your government class, how much chance did the students have to express their opinions?

*4. If you felt you had been treated unfairly in some way or disagreed with something the teacher said, did you feel free to talk to the teacher about it, or was it better not to talk to the teacher?

*5. Would it have made any difference?

6. How enthusiastic was your government teacher about the topics you studied?

7. Was he/she well prepared every day?

8. Did you feel he/she know enough about these topics?

"Now let's talk a bit about government."

*(From Langton and Karns, 1969.)

9. Do you feel that your ideas about our national government in Washington are the same or different from what they were before you took Government?

9a. Probe.

10. Some of the students I've talked with feel that their ideas have changed about whether or not they can have a say in what our government in Washington does. What about you?

IF IDEAS HAVE CHANGED:

10a. How do you feel now?

10b. And you say you didn't used to feel this way?

10c. What made you change your mind?

10d. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

10e. Do you think it was your government teacher or the things you studied in class that influenced you the most?

IF IDEAS HAVE NOT CHANGED:

10a. How do you feel then, can you help affect what goes on or not?

10b. What made you feel this way?

10c. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

11. What about _____ city government? Do you feel your

ideas have changed this year, or not?

11a. Probe.

12. Some of the students I've talked with feel that their ideas have changed about whether or not they can have a say in what _____ city government does. What about you?

IF IDEAS HAVE CHANGED:

12a. How do you feel now?

12b. And you didn't used to feel this way?

12c. What made you change your mind?

12d. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

IF IDEAS HAVE NOT CHANGED:

12a. How do you feel then, can you help affect what goes on or not?

12b. What made you feel this way?

12c. If government class is used in answer, probe. If not, ask: Did your government class have any influence in your thinking here?

*13. Let's consider an imaginary situation for a moment. Suppose a law were being considered by _____ City Council which you thought was very unjust or harmful, what do you think you would do?

13a. Probe.

If you made an effort to change this regulation,

or to prevent its passage, how likely is it that you would succeed?

If such a case arose, how likely is it you would actually do something about it?

*14. Now suppose a law were being considered by the United States Congress in Washington which you considered to be very unjust or harmful, what do you think you would do?

14a. Probe.

If you made an effort to change this law or to prevent its passage, how likely is it that you would succeed?

If such a case arose, how likely is it you would actually try to do something about it?

15. By the way, have you had the time to register to vote yet?

IF NOT:

15a. Do you think you'll get around to it this year?

IF NOT:

15b. Why not?

16. This being an election year, I'm wondering if you are involved in any political action, or if you are planning to.

16a. Probe

17. Are you involved in any political or social action in Austin that isn't necessarily tied up with the election?

IF YES:

17a. That's interesting. How did you first get involved?

(Then probe.)

IF NO:

17a. Do you think you might this year? Why? (Probe.)

"Let's talk for a minute about your government class specifically."

18. If you had to pick out one or two things about this government class that have had the biggest influence on your thinking, what would they be?

18a. Can you explain why?

18b. Probe.

19. Okay. Let's talk a bit then about some specific things. Just tell me if you think they've been important in influencing the way you think.

(Probe each item. If it is effective, ask why. If not, ask why.)

What about:

19a. Readings?

19b. Action research?

19c. What other kids say in class?

19d. What the teacher said in class?

Topics:

Political socialization:

19e. Did you learn anything useful by studying your own political attitudes and how they developed?

Probe.

19f. Were you influenced at all by studying how peoples'

political attitudes (for example, whether they feel politically alienated or politically effective) affect their political behavior (for example, voting, rioting, or running for office)?

Probe.

19g. What about the fact that some Americans (e.g., Appalachian whites and other groups) feel much more negative about our government than do many white-middle-class Americans? Did this affect you?

Probe.

Institutional racism:

19h. Were you influenced at all by studying how institutional racism sometimes works in our country? (If necessary give an example such as quota systems.)

Probe.

How dissatisfied minorities have worked to bring about change:

19i. How useful was it to study the different ways dissatisfied Americans have tried to bring about the change they want? (Examples: Chavez and grape pickers, ecology action.)

Probe.

20. Do you feel more or less politically effective than you did last summer? I've had students tell me both things.

20a. Why? (In probing differentiate between national and local government, and probe for influential agents.)

21. How do you feel about the kind of officials elected in Austin now? In Washington?

21a. Why? What made you feel this way?

22. Some students say it's things outside the class, other things, that happen school that are influencing the way they feel about our government. Is this true for you?

22a. Probe. (If student can't think of outside factors, mention assemblies, rallies, cafeteria, school administrators, rules and atmosphere.)

APPENDIX D

THE EXPERIMENTAL UNITS OUTLINED[1]

Unit I. What Causes Political Alienation? What Causes Political Effectiveness?

I. Broad Objectives. At the end of the unit, students will be able to:

1. Define political alienation, and explain its causes and effects.
2. Examine the extent to which he is politically alienated by describing his political attitudes and how they were shaped.
3. Compare the political socialization (and degree of political alienation) of mainstream Americans with non-mainstream Americans. Emphasis here is upon blacks, whites, and Mexican-Americans.
4. View political attitudes as a link in the "alienation cycle."
5. Discuss the extent to which political alienation can be reduced.
6. Plan his own independent or small group investigation of and involvement in Austin's political/social structure. (In come cases these may be statewide or national in scope.)

---

[1]The writer is currently developing the complete units in revised form. These units will be available in the near future.

II. Selected Readings and Media

1. "Policeman Small"
2. "Do Black and White Children Have the Same or Different Political Attitudes" (Adapted from Greenberg, 1970)
3. "A Study in Appalachia" (Adapted from Jaros, et al., 1968)
4. "How Prejudice Affects Adults" (Poussaint, 1967)
5. "Self Analysis: How Did Your Political Attitudes Develop? (C. Button, 1972)
6. Series of twelve "inquiry" posters depicting political behavior ranging from effectiveness to the apathy and/or anger of political alienation. (Developed especially for this unit)
7. Poster displaying a "Vicious Cycle of Political Alienation" (Developed especially for this unit)

Unit II. Who Rules America?

I. Broad objectives.

The student is to:

1. Compare political linkages according to the elitist and pluralist theories of the American political system.
2. Use a model of the American political system to explain its power in discouraging minorities from effecting change (i.e., institutional racism).

3. Analyze the effectiveness and availability of political linkages, particularly elections and political parties.

4. Apply the concepts learned in the unit (concepts of elitism, pluralism, linkages, institutional racism, etc.) to hypothetical problems involving pclitical powerlessness.

II. Selected Readings and Media

1. "What Makes an Interest Group Effective?" (Case study of gun control legislation and the N.R.A.'s fight against strict gun control. Slide presentation developed especially for the unit.)

2. "Who Rules America?" (A series of transparencies displaying elitist and pluralist interpretations of American government and politics, political linkages, and institutional racism as it sometimes operates in American politics. Developed especially for this unit.)

3. "The Story Behind the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (Adapted from Dahl, 1967)

4. Political problem series designed for small group work. (Developed especially for the unit.)

Unit III. How Have Some Alienated Groups Attempted to Change America?

I. Broad objectives. The student is to:

1. Use historical examples and current case studies to examine techniques which have tended to be effective continuously (i.e., parties, elections, interest groups), and techniques which have tended to play upon emotions of the times (i.e., sit-ins, freedom rides).
2. Examine the role of violence in America, its goals and effectiveness; make comparisons with non-violent goals, techniques and effectiveness.
3. Continue his investigation of alternatives for dealing with the current political problem he has selected. (Culmination in Unit IV.)

II. Selected Readings and Media

1. Posters graphically displaying political protest and change throughout American history on a continuum of Evolution --- Revolution. Black, "mainstream," Mexican-American and Chicano movements are included. (Developed especially for this unit.)
2. "Letter From a Birmingham Jail" (Martin Luther King, April 16, 1963.)
3. "Martin Luther King Describes the Principles of Non-Violence" (King, 1958.)
4. "Cesar Chavez on Non-Violent Protest" (Open letter from Chavez to E.L. Barr, Jr.)
5. "The Montgomery Bus Boycott" (Adapted from King, 1958.)

6. "Cesar Chavez and the California Grape Pickers: The Little Strike that Grew to La Causa" (Adapted from an article in Time, July 4, 1969.)
7. "Victory for Chavez and His United Farm Workers" (Adapted from an article in The Christian Century, August 12, 1970, p. 956.)
8. "The Brown Power Movement: Development and Current Meaning" (Speech by Jose Limon, Assistant Director of Mexican-American Studies Center, The University of Texas at Austin, and member of M.A.Y.O.; taped live)
9. "Los Cinco Candidatos" (Adapted from an article on Crystal City in The Texas Observer, April 18, 1963.)
10. "Watts, Summer 1965. What Happened? Why Did It Happen?" (Time, August 20, 1965, pp. 16-19; Newsweek, August 30, 1965, pp. 16-20.)
11. "Who Riots? The Riff-raff Theory." (Skolnick, 1969)
12. "Who Riots? Criticism of the Riff-raff Theory." (Sears and Tomlinson, 1970.)

Unit IV. What Political (Social and/or Economic) Problem Bothers You Most? What Can Be Done About It?

I. Explanation of the Political Action Fieldwork

1. Choose one specific social, political or economic problem in Austin that is of special interest to you. The problem should be one which could possibly be

solved by some sort of government action.

2. Gather information on the causes of the problem. Keep written records of sources (people and/or written material) you use. The records will become your "working bibliography."
3. Find out what is now being done about the problem. Again, keep records for your "working bibliography." Good sources are the Austin newspapers (back issues) and people connected with organizations which are working on your problem. If yours is a controversial topic, find out what the different viewpoints are.
4. Come up with a solution to the problem. Figure out what you and others can do to help solve it. (Is <u>your</u> solution different from the one you see being followed? If so, what can you do?)
5. Take some sort of concrete action intended to work solving the problem. (This may be one small step, but nonetheless it is important.)
6. Progress reports need to be turned in every two weeks.
7. FINAL REPORT. This will be due in January. In approximately 500 words, or the equivalent of 1-2 typewritten pages, include the following:
   a. Definition of the problem. (5 points)
   b. A list of the causes of the problem with a brief explanation of each cause. Footnote sources. (10 points)

c. A brief but complete description of what actions (by city government and/or interested groups of people) have been taken to deal with the problem. If opposing groups are involved, explain the differing viewpoints and actions taken by these groups. Footnote sources. (20 points)

d. A Statement of your solution to the problem. Explain briefly.

e. A statement of the concrete action you took to solve the problem. Briefly evaluate the results of your action.

f. Bibliography and "working bibliography" and notes. This is in addition to the 1-2 page report. (20 points)

8. CLASS PRESENTATION. This is due at the same time as your final report. Plan on about 5 minutes; if you need more time please let me know.

The purpose of these presentations is for us to share our field work experiences with each other. Your presentation will be based on the information in your final report. Your imagination is the only limitation in making your presentation interesting to the class.

Evaluation criteria:

a. Clarity of presentation (20 points)

b. Creativity/imagination in presentation (20 points)

c. Interest to class (20 points)

d. Insights offered to class (20 points)

e. AV aids used (20 points)

II. Sample Form of Fieldwork Progress Report (see following page)

FIELDWORK PROGRESS REPORT

Name_____ Period_____ Date_____

Problem being explored_____

1. Briefly state the main activities you have completed during this period.

2. What information have you gained as a result of these activities. (Be very brief.)

3. What problems, if any, are you having in finding information? Other problems?

4. What do you plan to do during the next few weeks?

5. Other?

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